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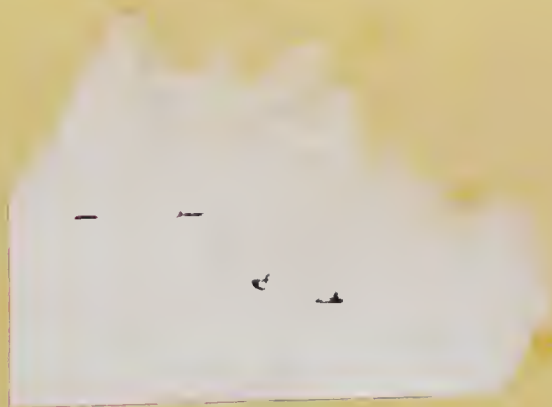


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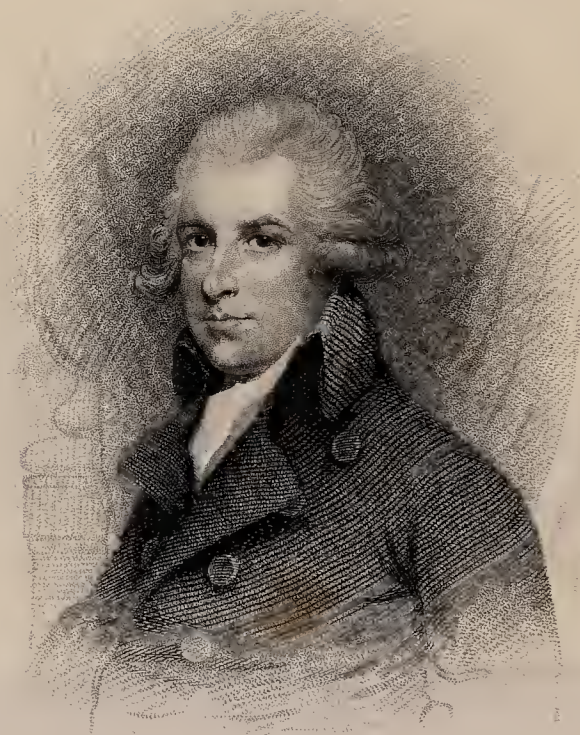
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HISTORICAL MEMOIRS

OF

HIS OWN TIME.

BY

SIR N. W. WRAXALL, BART.

Igitur ubi Animus requievit, non fuit Consilium Socordia atque Desidia bonum Otium conterere; neque vero Agrum colendo, aut venando, servilibus Officiis intentum, Ætatem agere. Sed a quo incepto Studio me Ambitio mala detinuerat, eodem regressus, statui Res gestas carptim, ut quæque Memoria digna videbantur, perscribere: eo magis, quod mihi a Spe, Metu, Partibus Reipublicæ, Animus liber erat.

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HISTORICAL MEMOIRS

OF MY OWN TIME.

PART THE THIRD.

1782.

[21st—27th March.] LORD NORTH's Resignation, preceded at only a short Interval of Time, by that of Lord George Germain; and followed, as it was, by the Dismission of all the ministerial Adherents in every Department, with the single Exception of the Chancellor; were in themselves Events of the first national Magnitude and Importance. Their Impression was augmented by the sudden and unexpected Declaration of the first Lord of the Treasury in the House of Commons, that "his Majesty's Ministers were no more," at a Moment when the most vigorous Resistance on their

Part was universally considered as certain. The younger Portion of Society scarcely remembered any other Minister than Lord North; and Lord Sandwich had presided nearly as long at the Head of the Admiralty. To the King, the former of those Noblemen was endeared by almost every personal Quality or Circumstance which could render him acceptable in the Closet, as well as useful in his public Capacity. More than twelve Years of almost daily Intercourse, amidst Scenes of perpetual Disquietude and Alarm, had cemented by the Effect of Habit, the other Motives for royal Predilection. It may indeed be reasonably doubted, whether even Lord Bute's Resignation affected the Sovereign so deeply or so painfully, as Lord North's Retreat. Mr. Grenville's Administration was regarded by many Persons, as a Continuation of the preceding Ministry, under another Name; whereas in 1782, the King could only anticipate a complete Surrender. The Individuals, the Measures, the Reductions contemplated, accompanied with the total Renunciation of Sovereignty over the revolted Colonies;—all were alike odious, or disagreeable to the King. No Man who attentively considers these Facts, will hesi-

tate in believing that Lord North might probably have continued in Power as long as Sir Robert Walpole had done, if the American War had not intervened and overturned him. Its Duration, Expence, Calamities, and Disgraces, became at length too overpowering to be surmounted by any human Ability. However indisputable I consider the Parliamentary *Right* of Legislation over the American Colonies to have been; yet the Attempt to *enforce* that Right by Arms; or, as Burke denominated it, “the Experiment of shearing the Wolf,” should unquestionably have been renounced after the Capitulation of Saratoga. From the Instant that France and Spain, listening to the Impulse of a narrow, vindictive Policy, and oblivious of all Considerations except those of Animosity towards Great Britain, undertook to sustain by Armies and Fleets, the Cause of Insurrection; we ought to have abandoned the further Prosecution of Hostilities beyond the Atlantic. Probably, Lord North himself was not far removed from that Opinion. We are at least in some Measure warranted so to assume, from the Tenor of his Expressions in the House of Commons, when speaking on the Subject, the last Time

that he rose as first Minister, previous to his Resignation. He yielded however to the Majority of the Cabinet, sustained by the Wishes of the Sovereign.

The Votes of the 22nd, and 27th. of February, followed by that of the 4th of March, had, it is true, incapacitated the first Minister for continuing War against America. But, no Reason existed to prevent him from negotiating as successfully for the Attainment of Peace, as could be done by Lord Rockingham, or Lord Shelburne. He had declared his perfect Readiness to obey the Orders of Parliament, though he disapproved, as a Measure of Policy, the Resolutions proposed and carried by General Conway. Nay, he had directed the Attorney General to bring in a Bill, for enabling His Majesty to conclude a Peace or Truce with the revolted Colonies; which Proposition was actually made and adopted in a Committee of the whole House, on the 5th of March, only fifteen Days before his own Resignation. Public Opinion, however, seemed imperiously to demand a Change of Ministers, as well as of Measures. Men; long accustomed to ill Success, fondly ima-

gined that they must benefit by the Substitution of new Names. Neither the Health, nor the Abilities of the Marquis of Rockingham, seemed, indeed, equal to sustaining the Fatigues or the Duties of Government, at a Period of such national Depression. Towards the Earl of Shelburne, it is true that all Eyes were directed, as a Nobleman whose Talents and Information were peculiarly adapted to the critical Emergency of public Affairs. Nor can we doubt, that if a cordial Union and Co-Operation could have been effected between them and their respective Adherents; an Administration might have arisen, calculated to rescue the Sovereign and the Country from their State of Distress. Fox and Burke acknowledged the *Marquis* for their Leader; while Dunning and Barré looked up to the *Earl* for Protection. Of these four distinguished Persons, Fox only could in any Degree be regarded as a free Agent. Burke, having lost his Seat at the last general Election, as one of the Representatives for the City of Bristol, owed to Lord Rockingham his present Place in the House of Commons, being returned for *Malton*. *Calne* sent to Parliament, both Dunning and Barré. Fox hav-

ing not only succeeded in Westminster, but, being the only Member competent to perform the active Duties of the Situation while his Colleague Sir George Rodney was absent in the West Indies, might be considered as standing on a great Eminence. If, to this Circumstance we add his Birth, his Connexions, the Energies of his Character, and his splendid Talents of various Kinds, he might doubtless have aspired to occupy in his own Person, the Offices left vacant by Lord North. Mr. Pelham, and George Grenville, who, under the late and present Reign, had been placed at the Head of the Treasury and of the Exchequer, were only younger Brothers of noble Families. But, the State of Destitution to which Fox had reduced himself, and the Mode by which he had effected it, operated to depress him below the Level on which Nature had placed him. Pitt, though like Fox, he possessed little or no patrimonial Fortune, yet became first Minister; while Fox, with Abilities equally eminent, never aspired beyond a second Place in the Government. The public Voice, even under a Sovereign of more relaxed Morals than George the Third, would not, I am persuaded, have permitted him to be

placed at the Head of the Finances. That Place, it was evident, must be conferred on Lord Rockingham, or on Lord Shelburne. Those Persons who looked below the Surface, and who knew how little personal Communication existed between the two Noblemen in Question, how dissimilar were their Opinions on many great Points of Policy, and by what different Adherents they were surrounded or impelled ; argued most unfavourably relative to the Concord and Duration of a Ministry, formed under their joint Auspices.

The King, who upon every Point was not less accurately informed than any of his Subjects, finding himself abandoned by Lord North, as he had repeatedly been deserted at earlier Periods of his Reign, by other Ministers, chose that Evil which he esteemed to be the least in his Situation. Well acquainted with the discordant Materials of which the Opposition was composed, he sent to Lord Shelburne, to signify a Desire of conferring with him, on the Formation of a new Administration ; and when that Nobleman attended His Majesty for the Purpose, the King proposed to him to accept the

Place of First Lord of the Treasury. But, Lord Shelburne, however disposed he might be from Inclination, to comply with an Offer so flattering to his Ambition; felt too deeply conscious of his Inability to maintain himself in Power, independent of the Rockingham Party, to venture on its Acceptance. Having stated therefore, the Necessity under which he lay of declining so gratifying a Distinction, at least for the present; he urged the over-ruling Circumstances that left no immediate Alternative to the Crown, except placing the Marquis of Rockingham at the Head of the Ministry. Sensible that he must submit to the Measure, however painful, the King therefore, on the subsequent Day, desired Lord Rockingham's Attendance. At the Audience which took Place, His Majesty consented to the Conditions on which the Marquis insisted, before he would agree to accept Office; only attempting to stipulate as a Preliminary, that two of his actual Ministers, namely, the Chancellor and Lord Stormont, should be continued under the new Administration. He could not however obtain such Terms; nor was it without some Repugnance, and after considerable Difficulty,

that even Lord Thurlow was admitted to retain his Situation. A decided Negative was put on the other Nobleman, whom it was determined by the Rockingham Party, at all Events to exclude from any Cabinet Office. In the King's Situation, as he could neither contest nor protract, a few Days sufficed to terminate the Negotiation: but, throughout every Stage of it, a marked Preference was exhibited towards Lord Shelburne. When the House of Commons, pursuant to its Adjournment, met again on the 25th of March, an Adherent of that Nobleman, (not a Friend of the Marquis, his Competitor for Power,) was selected and authorized to communicate the State of Affairs at St. James's. Dunning, who, forty-eight Hours afterwards, kissed His Majesty's Hands on being created a Peer, informed the Members whom Curiosity or Anxiety had brought down in great Numbers to Westminster, that Arrangements for the Formation of a new Administration, which, he trusted, would meet the Wishes of the House and of the Nation, were in considerable Forwardness. In order to allow Time for their complete Accomplishment, he moved that another short Adjournment should take

Place, to Wednesday, the 27th. The Motion, after a few Words from Lord Surrey, expressive of a sort of gloomy Satisfaction at the Intelligence imparted by Dunning, was adopted.

The Leaders of Opposition, were nevertheless far from having surmounted all the Impediments to their Acquisition of Office; and they soon discovered that the Expulsion of Lord North, though it might open to them the Door of the Cabinet, by no Means secured the Durability of their Administration. From the first Moment that the new Competitors for Power, appeared at St. James's, inextinguishable Jealousies arose, and mutual Distrust manifested itself on every Occasion. With Difficulty could they be prevented from immediately proceeding to an open Rupture; and the external Appearances of political Union, which had been preserved during several Years of parliamentary Opposition, dissolved as soon as they came to divide the ministerial Objects of Plunder, or to dispute for Preference in the royal Favor. The Marquis of Rockingham, conscious that though he might ostensibly be placed at the Head of the new Ad-

ministration, yet the King regarded him and his Adherents with Sentiments of Alienation ; while he considered Lord Shelburne with Regard, and treated him with Confidence ; took Umbrage at the Distinction. In this Situation of Affairs, before the Formation of the new Cabinet, an Incident which displayed the superior Interest that Lord Shelburne possessed at Court, nearly terminated at once the Compact by which Lord North had been expelled, and consequently involved the whole Embryo Ministry in total Confusion.

[27th March—7th April.] Scarcely could the Administration be said indeed with Propriety, as yet to have any real Existence ; for, though Mr. Fox and Lord Shelburne had been named Secretaries of State ; and though Lord Camden had accepted the Presidency of the Council, while the Duke of Grafton was made Privy Seal ; yet neither the new Boards of Treasury nor of Admiralty were constituted. Lord John Cavendish alone had been sworn in, as the new Chancellor of the Exchequer : but, the Marquis of Rockingham, and Admiral Keppel, who were destined to preside at the two

Boards, were not as yet regularly appointed. The Post of Commander in Chief of the Forces, as well as the Master General of the Ordnance, both which had commonly or frequently been Cabinet Offices, still remained vacant. No Individual had been proposed to be raised to the Peerage; when Lord Shelburne availing himself of the Facility which he enjoyed of Access to the Sovereign, induced His Majesty to confer the Dignity of a Baron; on his Friend and Adherent, Dunning. The Business itself, which neither the King, nor Lord Shelburne, communicated to the Marquis of Rockingham; was managed with such Dexterity, as well as Silence and Dispatch, that the first Intimation received of it, even by the Persons about the Court, arose from Dunning's kissing the King's Hand at the Levee, on his Creation. But, no sooner had the Intelligence become known, than it produced the most violent Fermentation and Resentment among all the Rockingham Party. Considering their Chief as equally overreached and insulted by the Proceeding, since it was evident that Lord Shelburne could effect for his Followers, Objects of the highest Importance, which proved to the Public his

superior and exclusive Ascendancy at St. James's; they determined on exacting immediate Reparation.

Under this Impression, several of the leading Persons, among whom were Fox, Burke, and George Byng, having repaired to Lord Rockingham's House in Grosvenor-square, a sort of tumultuary Consultation was there held on the Occasion. They unanimously agreed that the First Lord of the Treasury would be at once dishonoured in the Cabinet, and disgraced in the public Estimation; if the Secretary of State, so much his inferior in official Rank, could thus, without his Knowledge or Participation, dispose of the highest Dignities to his own Adherents. It was maintained, that the Reparation ought to be no less public, than the Affront; and that in order to wipe it away, some Individual must be without Delay raised to the Peerage, at Lord Rockingham's personal Recommendation. This Resolution being adopted, it was next debated whom to choose for the Honor. The Selection fell on Sir Fletcher Norton, late Speaker of the House of Commons: not, indeed, so much from Inclination, as from Necessity; no other Person

appearing equally proper to be created a Peer at the same Time with Dunning, as Sir Fletcher : they being, both, Lawyers of great Eminence in their Profession, Members of the House of Commons, speaking, as well as voting, in decided Opposition to the late Government, and rival Candidates for Power or Office.

On the following Day, Thursday, the 28th of March, the new First Lord of the Treasury repaired therefore to St. James's. Having obtained an Audience of the King, he represented the Impossibility of his continuing at the Head of the intended Administration, after the Elevation of Mr. Dunning to a Peerage, on Lord Shelburne's Recommendation, unless His Majesty should be graciously pleased to confer the same Mark of royal Favor on one of his own Friends. After some Hesitation, the King, apprehensive of the Consequences to himself and to the public Tranquillity, if Lord Rockingham and his Followers should suddenly resign, as they menaced ; and aware that Lord Shelburne could not support himself alone ; signified his Assent to the Proposition : adding, that the Person named, Sir Fletcher

Norton, might kiss his Hand at the first Levee. But, the Marquis peremptorily insisted on that Ceremony immediately taking Place on the same Day. In vain the King stated the Singularity and Impropriety of such an Act, contrary to all the Usages of established Court Etiquette, inasmuch as no Individual ever was known to be presented at the Queen's Drawing Room, by whatever Title, till he had previously been received under that Denomination, at the Levee. Lord Rockingham signified in Reply, respectfully, but tenaciously, that every Form must give Way on the present Occasion; and he exacted Compliance. Sir Fletcher being brought forward, actually kissed His Majesty's Hand on his Creation as a Baron, by the Title of Lord Grantley, the same Day, in the Drawing Room, to the no small Astonishment of the oldest Courtiers; and hardly less so of the newly created Peer himself, who having been apprized of this extraordinary Elevation, attended for the Purpose at St. James's, on the previous Notice of only a few Hours. No Instance of such a Breach of established Usage has occurred, either before or since, in the Course of the present Reign.

This Subject of Contest being thus regulated, and the Rockingham Party triumphant, the new Administration was at length formed, though of very heterogeneous Materials. Instead of *nine* Individuals; who constituted Lord North's Cabinet, *eleven* were now admitted; the third Secretaryship of State, namely, that for the Colonies, lately occupied by Lord Sackville, being extinguished. General Conway, as the R  compence of his late distinguished Services in Parliament, was placed at the Head of the Army. The Separation of the Office of First Lord of the Treasury, from that of Chancellor of the Exchequer, made way for Lord John Cavendish's Entrance into the Cabinet; and the Introduction of the Master General of the Ordnance, who had not been admitted under Lord North, brought in the Duke of Richmond: while, in order to oppose some little Balance to the preponderating Ascendancy of the Marquis's Friends, Lord Ashburton, late Mr. Dunning, contrary to general Usage or Precedent, was admitted to a Seat, in Quality of Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. The Transition was doubtless great in every Instance; but, in that of Dunning, peculiarly striking; who, from a Barrister of

obscure Birth, though of transcendent Talents, beheld himself transformed in the Space of a few Hours, into a Peer, a Member of the Cabinet, and the Possessor for Life of a lucrative, as well as honorable legal Dignity.

The other great Objects of Ambition or Acquisition, were shared with tolerable Equality, among the Friends of the two principal Leaders. The Earl of Carlisle was replaced, as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland by the Duke of Portland. Rigby, who during near fourteen Years had enjoyed the prodigious Emoluments of the Pay Office, without any Colleague, relinquished that enviable and lucrative Post to Burke; whose Brother, Richard, was likewise made one of the two Secretaries of the Treasury. Welbore Ellis, fallen in an Instant from his double Elevation of Secretary of State, and Treasurer of the Navy, made Way for Barré in the latter Employment; thus verifying Dundas's Prediction of the *Irish warming Pan*: while Jenkinson was succeeded, as Secretary at War, by Mr. Thomas Townsend. Kenyon became Attorney General. We were Colleagues for the Borough of Hindon, in that Parliament.

He possessed a deep and recondite Knowledge of the Law, the Result of severe Application; and was supposed to be consulted by the Chancellor, on all Cases that arose of legal Difficulty. It was indeed to Lord Thurlow's Friendship, and the high Opinion entertained by him of Kenyon's Ability, that the latter was indebted in an eminent Degree, for being brought forward in political Life. Though he loved Wealth, he was not naturally an ambitious Man. I know that he reluctantly consented to become a Member of the House of Commons, and that he was more than indifferent to his Continuance in that Assembly. His inflexible Love of Justice rendered him superior to Party Attachments, or to Party Sacrifices; and he was fabricated of such tough Materials, that you might break him, but, could never bend him. Gascoigne, under Henry the Fourth, or Sir Matthew Hale, under Cromwell, were not more intrepid and tenacious of Right.

I cannot forget his Expressions, when the Question was agitated in the House of Commons, whether the Public had, or had not, a Title to demand Interest on the Balances

of Money remaining in the Hands of public Accountants. It took Place;—I mean, the Debate on the Subject;—in the Month of June, 1782, when Fox might be esteemed first Minister, though Lord Rockingham was at the Head of the Treasury. And Fox's Opinions were well known to be in Favor of the Accountants. For, he always maintained that, “when a Balance of public Money lay in the Hands of a public Functionary, all which the Country or Parliament were entitled to expect from him, was, that whenever the Money should be demanded, it should be forthcoming.” These were nearly Fox's Words, who never forgot that his Father had been Paymaster of the Forces; that he had made a vast Profit of those Balances; and that his Accounts remained unsettled for many Years subsequent to his Decease. But, Kenyon, then Attorney General, thought very differently on the Point. “I never will preclude myself,” said he, when addressing the House from the Treasury Bench, “from a full Right to discuss in a Court of Justice, the Question of whether the Public may not call on their Servants to account for, and to refund, the great Emoluments made

“ by Means of public Money. I speak not
“ from ill Will to any Man alive; but,
“ solely from a Sense of Duty in an Office,
“ which I have, undeservedly, as well as
“ unexpectedly, been called to fill. I know
“ not how long I may continue in it; but,
“ if I should be dismissed from my present
“ Situation, I shall return to much domestic
“ Happiness, which I enjoyed before I was
“ called into public Life. So long however as
“ I may remain in it, I am determined to
“ do my Duty.”

A Man composed of such Stuff, might look down on Ministers. When Mr. Eden only ventured to suppose, that in his Conduct relative to Rigby and Ellis, who, (as having been, the one, Paymaster of the Forces, and the other, Treasurer of the Navy,) were, both, largely indebted to the Public; he could be actuated by any personal Feelings or Motives, Kenyon instantly took Fire. “ I hope,” said he, with great Emotion, after justifying himself from the Imputation, “ the Right Honorable Gentleman does not look into his own Heart, to find out the Motives which actuate *Me* on the present Occasion.” Lord North en-

deavoured to explain Eden's Expression; but the Attorney General made no Answer. Little conversant with the Manners of polite Life, Kenyon retained, even when Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, to which high Dignity he afterwards rose, all the original coarse Homeliness of his early Habits. Irascible in his Temper, like his Countrymen, the Welsh; destitute of all Refinement in Dress or external Deportment, parsimonious even in a Degree approaching to Avarice; he nevertheless more than balanced these Defects of Deportment and Character, by strict Morality, Probity, and Integrity. As a Member of the House of Commons, whenever he spoke, though he wanted Grace and Dignity, he could not be reproached with any Deficiency in the essential Qualities of Perspicuity, Energy, and Command of Language. General Burgoyne, whose Exchange had at length been effected against Laurens, the late President of the American Congress; being thus liberated from the Inabilities which his Surrender at Saratoga had inflicted on him, was sent to replace Sir John Irwine, as Commander in Chief in Ireland.

The Duke of Bolton, as a Compensation

for the Service which he had rendered in the Session of 1781, by arraigning in the House of Peers, the Conduct of the first Lord of the Admiralty, was made Governor of the Isle of Wight. During his elder Brother's Life, when only Lord Harry Powlett, he had served in the Royal Navy, where, however, he acquired no Laurels; and he was commonly supposed to be the "Captain Whiffle" pourtrayed by Smollet, in his "Roderic Random." Sheridan received the Appointment of one of the Under Secretaries of State in Fox's Office; who having taken for himself the *foreign* Department, left the *home* Secretaryship to Lord Shelburne; a Partition, by no means grateful to the latter Personage, whose extensive Information on all Subjects connected with Continental or foreign Affairs, qualified him eminently for that Line of political Employment. Mr. Orde became his Under Secretary. Of all the ostensible Candidates for public Situation, whose Birth and Talents seemed to call him forward to the Service of the State, and whose Eloquence in Parliament had eminently conduced to the Triumph obtained over the late Administration, Mr. Pitt, alone remained without Post or Remuneration. Not that the new Ministers

manifested either Insensibility to his Merits, or Indifference to securing such Abilities in their immediate Support. On the contrary, as the best Proof of their Consideration, they offered him the Place of a Lord of the Treasury, in the Formation of the new Board. But, in making him this Proposition, they appeared to have ill appreciated his Character, as well as to have forgotten his late Declaration in the House; and least of all to have understood the Extent, as well as the Depth, of his Ambition. Pitt steadily rejected every Proposition or Solicitation, preferring to remain for the present, without Office. Whether this Refusal originated in his Consciousness of possessing Talents, which, from their Pre-eminence, enabled him at once to seize a Cabinet Place, without passing, like other Men, through any inferior Gradations of political Life; or, whether it rather proceeded from that superior Intelligence and Discernment, which even at so early a Period of Youth, shewed him that a Ministry imbued with such discordant Principles, and odious to the Sovereign, could not possibly prove of long Duration; it may be difficult to determine with Certainty. Probably, both those Sentiments

concurred in regulating this judicious Line of Action.

Charles Turner, Member for the City of York, and one of the most eccentric Men who ever sate in Parliament, accepted a Baronetcy from the Marquis of Rockingham. He was a Man of large landed Property, situated in Yorkshire, on the Southern Bank of the Tees, near the Edge of the Bishoprick of Durham. Lord Rockingham could not boast of a more enthusiastic or devoted Adherent in either House: but, Turner's Attachment was not bestowed on his Rank or Power. The constitutional Principles which that Nobleman professed, and those only, constituted the Objects of Turner's Veneration. It was to commemorate, as he said, the *Æra* of a virtuous Minister and Administration attaining to Power, not from any Impulse of personal Vanity, or Desire of Title, that he accepted a Dignity which should date and derive from the auspicious Period of Lord Rockingham's Nomination to the Head of the Treasury. Sir Charles had many Peculiarities of Character, Dress, Language, and Deportment, in all which he was truly original. He never wore any Coat, except one

of a green Colour, with *Tally-ho* Buttons :— for, he was a decided Sportsman. Yet, the Love of Liberty, and Detestation of every Encroachment on the Comforts, Pleasures, or Enjoyments of his Fellow Subjects, particularly in the lower Classes of Society, was so ardent in his Bosom, that he declaimed against the *Game Laws*, as the most oppressive and disgraceful to our national Character. I remember, in the Month of February of this very Year, 1782, Mr. Coke, Member for Norfolk, having proposed in the House, a Revisal of those Laws, with a View to prevent Poaching ; which Motion was seconded by the other Representative for the same County, Sir Edward Astley ; Turner instantly rose, and in animated, tho' unpolished Language, inveighed against the whole *Code*, which he stigmatized without Reservation. “ It is most shameful,” exclaimed he, “ to find this House perpetually occupied in making Laws to protect Gentlemen. I wish we made a few for the Benefit of the Poor ! Let the Legislature extend Protection to *Them*, and the Gentry will have nothing to fear from their Depredations. If I had been a poor Man, I am convinced that I should have been a Poacher, in Defiance of the Laws. It is

“ to the Severity of those Laws, we owe the
“ Encrease of Poachers. I wish to see the
“ Game Laws revised, and stripped of more
“ than half their Severity. My Wish never-
“ theless, is by no means an interested one:
“ —for, every Shilling that I possess, is in
“ Land, and I am a Sportsman as well as
“ other Gentlemen.” There existed not in
the Kingdom, a more determined Enemy of
the American War, or of Lord North. Turner
did not want good Sense, nor was he desti-
tute of Education: but, the Simplicity, As-
perity, and untutored Roughness of his
Ebullitions, always produced Laughter.
“ They call *Us* a Rope of *Sand*,” said He,
meaning the Opposition. “ I will tell the
“ noble Lord in the blue Ribband, what he
“ and his Colleagues are. They are a Rope
“ of *Onions*;—for, they stink in the Nos-
“ trils of the whole Country.” He did not
long survive his Elevation to a Baronetcy,
dying in the subsequent Year, 1783. Tur-
ner bore some Resemblance to Fielding’s
Squire Western; but, with far more Be-
nevolence, Probity, Philanthropy, and ge-
neral Humanity, than *Sophia’s* Father pos-
sessed.

[8th April.] Never was a more total Change

of Costume beheld, than the House of Commons presented to the Eye, when that Assembly met for the Dispatch of Business, after the Easter Recess. The Treasury Bench, as well as the Places behind it, had been for so many Years occupied by Lord North and his Friends, that it became difficult to recognize them again in their new Seats, dispersed over the Opposition Benches, wrapped in great Coats, or habited in Frocks, and Boots. Mr. Ellis himself, no longer Secretary of State, appeared for the first Time in his Life, in an Undress. To contemplate the Ministers, their Successors, emerged from their obscure Lodgings, or from Brookes's, having thrown off their blue and buff Uniforms; now ornamented with the Appendages of full Dress, or returning from Court, decorated with Swords, Lace, and Hair Powder; excited still more Astonishment. I confess that it appeared to me, the most extraordinary Revolution I ever witnessed; and the Members of the new Administration seemed, themselves, not to have recovered from their Surprise at being thus suddenly transported across the Floor of the House. Even some Degree of Ridicule attached to this extraordinary and sudden Metamorphosis, which afforded Subject for Conver-

sation, no less than Food for Mirth. It happened that just at the Time when the Change of Administration took Place, Lord Nugent's House, in Great George-street, having been broken open, was robbed of a Variety of Articles; among others, of a Number of Pairs of laced Ruffles. He caused the Particulars of the Effects stolen, to be advertized in some of the daily Newspapers, where they were minutely specified with great Precision. Coming down to the House of Commons, immediately after the Recess, a Gentleman who accidentally sate next to him, asked his Lordship, if he had yet made any Discovery of the Articles recently lost? "I can't say that I have," answered he, "but I shrewdly suspect that I have seen some of my laced Ruffles, on the Hands of the Gentlemen who now occupy the Treasury Bench." This Reply, the Effect of which was infinitely encreased by the Presence of Fox and Burke in their Court Dresses, obtained general Circulation, and occasioned no little Laughter.

All Eyes were for some Minutes directed towards the Part of the House where the new Ministers, occupied in taking the Oaths on their Re-Election, engrossed uni-

versal Attention. But, no sooner had that Ceremony been compleated, than Colonel Luttrell, (now Earl of Carhampton,) rising, solicited the Notice of the Assembly to the Affairs of Ireland, which, from their critical Position, He said, admitted of no Delay. He called at the same Time on Mr. Eden, Secretary for that Kingdom, then in his Place, to explain their Nature, and the Embarrassment in which they were involved. Eden instantly obeyed the Summons; and in a Speech of considerable Length, well digested, and by no means destitute of Ability, laid open the alarming Fermentation, approaching to Emancipation from all Dependence on the King and Parliament of Great Britain, by which every Class of Inhabitants was animated in the Sister Island. With one Voice, he said, they declared their Determination no longer to submit to any Legislation, except that of the Sovereign and Parliament of *Ireland*; concluding by a Motion for Leave to bring in a Bill, to repeal so much of the Act of the 6th of George the First, as asserted a Right in the Government of this Country to make Laws for Ireland. “I do not wish,” added he, “to precipitate Matters; but, not an Instant is to be lost. “I must set off for Dublin, this Night, or

“ To-morrow Morning. The Irish Parliament meets in eight Days from the present Time, and Mr. Grattan will immediately propose a Declaration of Rights. I shall be happy therefore to carry over the pleasing Intelligence, that the Legislature of this Country is ready to give every reasonable Satisfaction to the Irish Parliament and People.”

Eden's Motion being eagerly seconded from various Sides of the House, the new Secretary of State rose, and addressed the Assembly, in Language of great Animation, accompanied with visible Emotion. Having reprobated the Line of Conduct adopted by Mr. Eden, as equally factious, injurious, and censurable, in thus unexpectedly introducing a Proposition of such Magnitude, whose Operation might tear asunder the political Ties that united the two Kingdoms; he threw himself and his Colleagues in the new Cabinet, on the Candour of the House, for Protection. He protested that, though scarcely inducted, yet they had already employed much of their Time in Consultation on the Affairs of Ireland. Before many Days, or perhaps Hours, would elapse, they hoped to bring

forward a Proposition calculated to restore Harmony and Concord between the two Countries. Against the late Administration Fox declaimed with great Asperity, as having by their criminal Negligence and Procrastination, produced the actual Calamity. On Eden himself, the Secretary was most severe, for quitting his Post, and repairing to London, obviously with no other Intention than that of involving the new Ministers in Difficulties, before they could possibly be prepared to produce an adequate Remedy. Fox terminated by moving the Order of the Day, though he exhorted Mr. Eden to withdraw his Motion; but, He, far from manifesting a Disposition to comply, repeated his Intimation of leaving England without Delay: adding, that if the Motion which he had just submitted to the House, was not adopted, it might be too late to avoid a Rupture between the two Countries.

Irritated at such Pertinacity on his Part, which evidently originated in mischievous Intentions towards the Administration, and might be productive of most injurious Effects to the Public; several Members, either connected with Ministry, or composing Part

of the Cabinet, successively interposed, and endeavoured to enforce Fox's Exhortation. Eden nevertheless treating these Applications with Silence or Disregard, General Conway, after reiterating the Request, and finding it received in a similar Manner, appealed to the House against him, as highly meriting a Vote of Censure for his Conduct. So strong, indeed, was that Impression, and such the Sentiment of Condemnation excited, that while Conway spoke, a loud and universal Cry of "Move! Move! Tower! Tower!" echoed from every Part of the Assembly. I joined in it, myself, almost involuntarily; as did Numbers of other Persons, who were not at all attached to the new Ministers; but, who felt nevertheless the censurable Spirit of the Motion, thus suddenly brought forward from Motives of personal Enmity or Hostility. Indeed, I am persuaded, that if Conway had availed himself of the Effervescence, not to say Indignation, which pervaded both Sides of the House, and had moved to send Mr. Eden to the Tower, it would have been adopted, unless that Gentleman had prevented it by a prompt Submission and Apology.

The Discussion still continuing, without any Approximation to the Object sought, Mansfield, the late Solicitor General, endeavoured to defend, if not to justify, Eden's Proceeding; though he himself at length seemed inclined to capitulate, on the Stipulation of receiving from Fox, a solemn Assurance that the obnoxious Act of George the First should be repealed. This Demand called up Sheridan, who, speaking for the first time in his Life from the Treasury Bench, inveighed with equal Energy and Acrimony, against the extraordinary Conduct of the Secretary for Ireland. That Functionary, Sheridan said, deserting his Duty, animated solely by private Pique and Resentment, had not only withheld from His Majesty's present Ministers, all the Information of which he must be in Possession; but, attempted to exasperate the State of Things, by a Proposition big with pernicious Consequences to the two Kingdoms. It was not however till Cornwall prepared to put the Question from the Chair, that Eden finding the House generally adverse to him; receiving no Support from Lord North, though that Nobleman was present; evidently entangled in his own Web; and

exposed to some Censure for the Line of Action which he had adopted on this Occasion, reluctantly consented to withdraw his Motion. Far from having succeeded in embarrassing the new Ministers, he had afforded them an Occasion of acquiring some Degree of Popularity, or at least, Parliamentary Approbation, at their Outset. Fox, in particular, by the manly Promptitude of his Reply, by his Declarations of the System which the Cabinet meant to follow, and the Protestations of their fixed Intention to execute all their Promises of Reform made before they entered on Office, produced a most favourable Impression on the public Mind.

With the external Insignia of Power and Employment, he seemed to have assumed in an Instant, the Tone, the Language, and the Sentiments of a Minister of State; though he could not, even if he had been so inclined, immediately abandon the Doctrines or the Engagements, to which he had solemnly pledged himself during successive Years of Opposition. On the following Day, he brought down a Message from the Crown, recommending the immediate Consideration of the Affairs of Ireland, with a View to such a final Adjust-

ment, as might give mutual Satisfaction to both Countries. It was adopted without a dissentient Voice, or the slightest Hesitation. In the Progress of his Speech on the Occasion, he again alluded with Severity, "to the Palliatives which the late Administration," he said, "had used in treating the Subjects of Contest existing between Great Britain and her Sister Island, merely in Order to obtain the unworthy Advantage of a temporary Suspension of the Evil. His Majesty's present Ministers came on the contrary, with Minds made up to meet the main Question, to settle the distinct Constitutions of the two Countries, and to establish such a Union or Connexion between them, as might endure for successive Ages." A loyal Address was voted to the Sovereign, re-echoing his gracious Message; and the Ministry appeared to commence their Career at Home under very favourable Auspices, at least within the Walls of the House of Commons.

Even the Drawing Room at St. James's, underwent considerable Alteration in its Appearance, as well as the Houses of Parliament, in consequence of the political Revolution which had driven the late Ministers

from Power. The Earl of Hertford, one of the “ancient, most domestic Ornaments” of the Court, who had held the White Wand of Chamberlain for more than fifteen Years, and whose Presence in the Circle seemed, from long Habit, almost essential to its very Existence; of course disappeared. The Duke of Manchester succeeded him. Lord Effingham, a Nobleman of great Eccentricity of Deportment, whose Name, since the Riots of June, 1780, had scarcely been pronounced on the Theatre of public Life, became Treasurer of the Household, in the Place of Lord Salisbury. No Individual, dismissed in consequence of the Change of Administration, was more personally regretted by the King, than Lord Bateman, who had held during many Years, the Post of Master of the Buck Hounds. I had the Honor to know him with great Intimacy. The Frankness and Gaiety of his Disposition, rendered his Society peculiarly agreeable to the Sovereign. Lord Bateman’s Descent on the maternal Side, was very illustrious; his Mother having been Grand Daughter, to John, Duke of Marlborough, and Sister to the second Duke of that Name. By his paternal Ancestors, he inherited only civic Honors; his Grandfather, Sir James Bate-

man, being knighted when Lord Mayor of London, under George the First. At near seventy Years of Age, Lord Bateman preserved all the Activity of Youth, accompanied by an Elasticity of Mind and Character which never forsook him. He might have been reinstated in the Employment of Master of the Buck Hounds, under succeeding Administrations: but, he preferred the Enjoyment of personal Liberty, and passed the last Years of his Life principally at his Seat of Shobden, in the County of Hereford. His Understanding was good, but he loved Pleasure of every Description, more than Business; and he possessed that Mediocrity of Talents, which never inspiring Awe, forms the best Recommendation to royal Favor. Curiosity was so strongly excited to see the new Ministers, and to remark the Demeanor of Persons, who during many Years had rarely stood in the Presence of the Sovereign, or frequented St. James's; that numerous Individuals attended the Levee and the Drawing Room, from no other Motive. Those who had always speculated on the short Duration of the present Administration, derived additional Proofs in Favor of their Opinion, from the very Looks and reciprocal

Department of the principal Personages. Every Attention shewn by the King to Lord Shelburne, excited the instant Jealousy of the Rockingham Party, and hastened their final Separation. Time alone, indeed, was necessary for making the political Arrangements, indispensable before the former Nobleman could venture to throw off his Subjection to his Colleagues, and to set up for himself, as First Minister.

[9th—25th April.] Previous to Lord North's Resignation, Mr. Fox had more than once insinuated in the House of Commons, that if he were Minister, he possessed the Means of making a separate Treaty with the Dutch, and of detaching them from France. His Friends did not even scruple to assert, that "he had a Peace with Holland in his Pocket:" Expressions, which being uttered in a Period of Misfortune and Despondency, could not fail of producing a forcible Impression on the sanguine, as well as on the credulous, Part of Society. One of his first Attempts, as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, became in fact directed to the Attainment of so salutary and important an Object. In order to effect it, he

thought proper to address a Letter to Mons. Simolin, the Russian Minister, then residing at the Court of London; making through him, the Offer of an immediate Suspension of Hostilities between Great Britain and Holland, as a Step preparatory to Negotiation. This Proposal was afterwards warmly reiterated and seconded, by the Ambassadors of Catherine the Second at the Hague. But, instead of the Nation deriving any Benefit from Fox's hasty Overture, it was received by the States General with Coldness, and treated with Contempt; they wisely preferring to negotiate in Concert with France and Spain, whenever a Plan should be set on Foot for general Pacification. Baffled in this Experiment, the Cabinet next made Propositions at the Court of Versailles, with a View to general Accommodation; and even sent Mr. Thomas Grenville, Earl Temple's Brother, to Paris, for the Purpose: while Admiral Digby and Sir Guy Carleton were dispatched to America, with Instructions to offer an immediate Acknowledgement of the Independence of the Thirteen Colonies. The Congress, however, as if animated by the same Spirit with the Dutch, refused to receive any Mes-

senger, or even to grant a Passport to the Person deputed by the British Commissioners, for commencing a Negotiation.

So conscious was the Secretary of State, that some Degree of Ridicule attached to the Failure of his Attempt to open a Treaty with Holland, as to induce him to anticipate public Opinion, by mentioning it in the House of Commons. He judiciously prepared his Audience for the Disclosure, by first loading Lord North's Administration with the severest Epithets, as solely culpable, from their Negligence or Incapacity. "Wretched and fallen as the Country had been depicted," he said, "by himself and his Friends, before they came into Power, yet its real Condition infinitely exceeded even their own Apprehensions. His former Suspicions were poor and feeble in Comparison with the Fact. Our *Navy* was so reduced and impotent, that he thought an Enquiry ought to be set on Foot, in Order that the Country might see the Extent of the Calamity." Unfortunately for the Secretary, Sir George Rodney, commanding the Fleet sent out and equipped by Lord Sandwich, had already gained the

glorious Victory of the 12th of April, though the Intelligence did not reach London before the Middle of the Month of May. Fox alluding next to his recent Experiment for making Peace with the Dutch, said, that “owing to the incapable Measures and Mismanagement of the late Ministers, the greatest Impediments were thrown in the Way of a Treaty with Holland. If the present confidential Servants of His Majesty, had only been called to his Councils *some Weeks earlier*, it would have been effected.” He concluded by repeating his Accusations of Lord North, accompanied with the Observation, that though no Man was less vindictive than himself, yet Self Preservation would render it necessary to lay before Parliament, the deplorable State of the Nation. He probably imagined, that in the prostrate Position of the late Minister’s Friends and Supporters, these Imputations would pass without Contradiction or even Observation. But, the Lord Advocate of Scotland, impelled by the manly Nature of his Disposition, and not at all overborne by the Secretary’s bold Assertions, instantly rose to answer him. After exhorting the Minister rather to promote Concord and Unanimity within those Walls, than to awaken

Dissension and Ill-Humor, “ If,” continued he, “ our Navy is really in the bad Condition described by the Right Honorable Gentleman, or has been so grossly mismanaged as he pretends, the best Way of proving his Assertion, will be to produce a better Navy. And if it was such a very easy Operation as he asserted, to make Peace both with Holland and America; why does he not accomplish it, now that he and his Colleagues have the Conduct of the Business exclusively in their own Hands? Or, if they are compelled to admit that Impediments stand in the Way, Candor might induce them to suppose that their Predecessors found similar Obstacles, which prevented their Attainment of the Object.” Fox made no Reply to this Animadversion of Dundas. However triumphantly he conducted Matters in Parliament, where he experienced scarcely any Obstacle to his Pleasure, it seemed impossible for him to begin his foreign diplomatic Labors more unsuccessfully, after having held out to the Country, either personally, or through the Medium of his Adherents, such delusive Expectations.

He found it much easier to induce the

House of Commons to listen to his Propositions, than to persuade or to conciliate any of the belligerent Powers. No Opposition whatsoever was experienced from Lord North, who, though at the Head of a routed Party, yet remained the nominal Chief of a numerous Body of Men. He attended very regularly in his Place, and might, if he had been so disposed, have greatly impeded, if not wholly prevented, many of the Measures of the new Government. But, far from throwing any Obstacles in their Way, he allowed them without Molestation to complete their Projects of Reform, in every Direction. The King having sent a Message to the House on the Subject, Burke opened the System of domestic Retrenchment, by bringing in anew his famous Bill for the Reduction of the civil List, so often proposed, and so often rejected, or eluded, in preceding Sessions. Powis seconded the Motion. The Expressions adopted by both, when speaking of the Part which the King performed in it, were not calculated to render the Measure itself more palatable to him. *Secret Influence* was designated clearly, as the latent Evil which had so long separated the Sovereign from his People. Burke

congratulated the House and the Country, that “ the auspicious Moment had at length
“ arrived, when His Majesty, *liberated from*
“ *the secret and pernicious Counsel which*
“ *interposed between him and his Subjects,*
“ now addressed them in the pure and rich
“ Benevolence of his own Heart.” Words, which in Reality implied more Censure than Commendation, since he had already reigned above twenty Years, without feeling or exerting this benevolent Impulse. Powis spoke out in still stronger Language. After describing the Act itself of contracting his royal State, in Order to diminish the Burthens of his People, as entitled to the warmest Effusions of Gratitude; he added, that “ the
“ Message now sent from the Crown, proved
“ the Sovereign to be at length delivered
“ from *that baneful and concealed Adviser*
“ *which had lurked unseen,* and had inter-
“ cepted his gracious Inclinations.” Fox made no Allusion to *Secret Influence*; but, he expressed his Hopes that Gentlemen would be *unanimous* in fulfilling His Majesty’s generous Intentions, as it could be no longer objected that the House of Commons ought not to interfere with the Civil List; “ the King coming forward to his People

“ with unparalleled Grace, and desiring to “ participate in their Sufferings.” In Fact, not one Word was uttered from any Part of the House, though a Smile might have been observed on certain Faces ; and an Address to the Throne was unanimously voted.

When, however, the Bill itself came to be discussed in the Committee, some Weeks afterwards, and the Plan of proposed Reduction minutely detailed by Burke ; instead of two Hundred thousand Pounds a Year, which Sum, by a Species of political Arithmetic, formed on Data of his own Assumption, he had calculated in 1779, would annihilate ministerial Influence in the House of Commons, commensurate to fifty Members or Votes in Parliament ; he now proposed only about a third Part of that annual Sum for the Scope of his Retrenchment. Many Regulations which had appeared to be indispensable, while he was in Opposition, were abandoned when he spoke from the Treasury Bench ; more undoubtedly, from Compulsion, than from Inclination. Some Abuses owed their prospective Toleration to the personal Respect that, he said, he felt for the Individuals who presided over

the Office or Department. Others were perpetuated from Deference to Prejudice, or popular Predilection. All the Regulations relative to the Principality of Wales, which had formed a prominent Feature of his former Bill, were now, he said, given up, or at least, postponed. Not because he by any means believed that they would, if adopted, fail to be productive of great national Utility; but, because they were disagreeable to the Welsh. He added, however, that he hoped a Time would arrive, more propitious to their Introduction. The Ordnance might be safely trusted to the Duke of Richmond's vigilant Frugality. Vynner, Member for Lincoln, observed on this Clause, that “as the
“ Duke of Richmond was not immortal,
“ he would vote for the Enactment of such
“ Regulations in his Department, as might
“ render it impossible for any Successor at
“ the Head of the Ordnance, to abuse his
“ Power, and to plunder the Public.” Barré afterwards reiterated in his Place, the same Opinions. Lord Ashburton, or rather, Lord Shelburne, extended his Protection to the Duchy of Lancaster. The Mint was left untouched; and even two of the white Wands, the Treasurer and Cofferer of the

Household, as contributing to the Splendor of the Court, obtained Grace. Yet, thus mutilated, and hardly recognizable, both Burke and Powis, when returning Thanks to the King, for his Message relative to this Subject; melted into Tears, at the Prospect of their approaching Triumph over Court Profusion and ministerial Corruption.

Two Bills, one for the Prevention of Contractors sitting in Parliament; the other, for excluding Officers of the Excise and Customs from voting at Elections; were likewise passed with little Difficulty or Delay, through the lower House, where the Administration carried all before them. Sir Philip Jennings Clerke brought in the former; Mr. Crewe, now Lord Crewe, the latter. Except from Lord Nugent and Mr. Vyner, as well as, I believe, from Bamber Gascoyne, scarcely any material Opposition was experienced. Lord Nugent, besides speaking against both the Bills in every Stage of their Progress, divided the House on them: but, he could only carry about fourteen Votes with him, while Ministers had more than eighty. Gascoyne said that the Bill for depriving Revenue Officers of their Right of

voting, violated Magna Charta, which secured to every Subject, his Rights and Franchises. Vyner represented, that sixty Thousand Individuals would be disfranchised by its Operation. The Secretary at War having remarked that nothing could be more desirable for the Persons themselves, than to be thus incapacitated from voting; Mr. Anne Poulett observed, not without some Wit, that the Assertion reminded him of the Anecdote of Don Carlos and the Executioner. When the unfortunate Son of Philip the Second expressed his Unwillingness to submit to the Stroke of the Axe, the Officer of Justice besought his Highness to remain quiet, and suffer his Head to be taken off, as it was designed for his own Benefit. The Honorable Mr. Poulett, Son of the first Earl Poulett, (who occupied the high Office of first Lord of the Treasury, for a short Period of Time, under Queen Anne,) was above seventy Years of Age, in 1782, when I knew him, and had been named after that Princess, who was his God-Mother. Like Welbore Ellis, he always came to the House, in a full Dress Suit, and regularly took his Place on the Government Side, opposite to Rigby. He

was a steady Supporter of the Crown, but, very rarely rose to speak, being naturally of a grave and taciturn Disposition. His known Loyalty, and unshaken Attachment to the Administration which he believed to be approved by the King, subjected him to the Lash of the "Rolliad." After enumerating several other Members distinguished by similar Principles of Action, the Author adds,

" And *Nancy Poulett*, as the Morning fair,
Bright as the Sun, but, common as the Air.
Inconstant Nymph! who still, with open Arms,
To every Minister devotes her Charms."

Mr. Crewe was accompanied by near a Hundred Members, when he carried up his Bill to the Bar of the Lords: but, in their Passage through that House, both Bills, Sir Philip Clerke's, no less than the other, experienced from the Chancellor, as well as from Lords Mansfield and Loughborough, the most decided Opposition. These Pillars of the Law, far from yielding to the Temper of the Times, endeavoured, though ineffectually, to stem its Force. Thurlow, in particular, even while holding in his Hand the Great Seal of England, and while in his

own Person a Member of the Cabinet; yet expressed with that gloomy Indignation which characterized his Style of speaking, the Disapprobation that he felt at such Inroads on the Majesty of the Crown, as well as on the Franchises of the Subject. Unawed by the Appearance of Fox and Burke, who, in order to impress him with Respect, as well as to display the Interest that they took in the Success of these Measures, usually appeared in the House of Peers, on the Steps of the Throne, while the Bills were agitating; Lord Thurlow animadverted on them with the utmost Severity, and divided in the Minority, on all the most obnoxious Clauses. But the Stream, which ran with too much Violence, successfully to oppose its Current, soon secured for each of the Bills, the Concurrence of the Sovereign.

It cannot be disputed by the greatest Enemies of Reform, that various of the Offices, or nominal Employments, suppressed by Burke's Bill, were become obsolete, destitute of any real Function, and void of apparent Utility. Nor will it be denied, that the annual aggregate Sum which the Measure saved to the Country, though now reduced

from two hundred thousand Pounds, to about seventy-two thousand Pounds a Year, yet still formed a considerable Object of national Economy. But, on the other Hand, the Extinction of so many Places, deprived the Crown of that Species of Majesty, produced by the Operation of Time, and “the Hoar of Ages;” Advantages, which no Man knew better how to appreciate and to venerate, as well as to celebrate and sustain, than Burke himself. We beheld him, scarcely ten Years afterwards, stand forward the determined Champion of monarchical Institutions, and the zealous Opposer of almost every Kind of Innovation. We may likewise remark, that the Board of Trade, and the Office of Third Secretary of State, both which Institutions his Bill abolished, have been since revived, from a Conviction of their respective Necessity or Advantages. Even the “Great Wardrobe,” the “Treasurer of the Chamber,” the “Jewel Office,” the “Clerks of the Board of Green Cloth,” and some other Appointments, which may appear at first Sight to be most exceptionable or unnecessary; yet, as carrying us back in Imagination to the Reigns of the *Tudors*, by whom they were instituted, diffused over

the Throne itself, a Gothic Grandeur, calculated to protect and to perpetuate the Sanctity of the monarchical Office. These adventitious Aids will not be despised by those who deeply consider the Nature of Man, and of all human Institutions.

Other Consequences of an injurious Description, not foreseen at the Time, or from which the Author of the Bill chose to avert his View, have flowed from the Measure. In Burke's Eagerness to diminish the supposed overgrown Influence of the Crown, arising from the Distribution of Offices among the Members of the House of Commons, a greater Injury has been probably sustained by the British Constitution. The Minister, deprived of the Means of procuring Parliamentary Attendance and Support, by conferring Places on his Adherents, has in many Instances been compelled to substitute a far higher Remuneration; namely, Peerages. A Review of Mr. Pitt's Administration, will form the strongest Illustration of this Remark. I know indeed, from the best Authority, that Burke himself lived to adopt the Opinion, and like other Reformers or Innovators, found Reason to lament the Effects

of his own Bill. Being at Bath, in a declining State of Health, not long before his Decease; I believe, in 1797; the Conversation turned on the great Augmentation made by Mr. Pitt to the Numbers of the House of Lords, during the preceding thirteen Years. "I fear," said Burke, "that I am partly accountable for so disproportionate an Increase of Honors, by having deprived the Crown and the Minister of so many other Sources of Recompense or Reward, which were extinguished by my Bill of Reform." Mr. Pitt, when he came into Power, early in 1784, had in Fact little left him to bestow, in Proportion to the Croud of Claimants, except Dignities; and he was not parsimonious in their Distribution. The two Bills, excluding Contractors from sitting in the House of Commons, and depriving Revenue Officers, of the Right of voting at Elections for Members of Parliament; though liable, respectively, to some Objections; and though both were strongly reprobated at the Time, by the greatest legal Characters in the House of Peers; yet appear to have obtained, and still to retain, the general Approbation of the Country.

Many Persons of high Rank reluctantly disappeared from about the King's Person and Court, in Consequence of Burke's Bill of Reform. The Earl of Darlington quitted the Jewel Office; and Lord Pelham, the Great Wardrobe: the first of which Offices owed its Institution to Elizabeth; while the latter remounted to the Times of the *Plantagenets*. The Earl of Essex laid down the Stag Hounds; as did Lord Denbigh, the Harriers: while the Disasters of Saratoga and of York Town were thus felt by rebound, through every Avenue of St. James's. Gibbon, who had sat at the Board of Trade since 1779, being dismissed from his official Attendance in Whitehall; found himself more at Leisure to continue that great historical Work which he ultimately completed on the Banks of the Lake of Geneva, and which will perpetuate his name to distant Ages. George Selwyn lost a lucrative Appointment under the Board of Works; and though possessed of an affluent Fortune, together with a Borough, yet as he loved Money, no Man who suffered in Consequence of the Reduction of the Civil List, retained a deeper Resentment towards the

Party who had abridged his Enjoyments, and diminished his Income. I knew him with some Degree of Intimacy, having sat as his Colleague in Parliament, during more than six Years, for Ludgershall, from 1784 to 1790. He resided in Cleveland Row, in the House rendered memorable by the Quarrel which took Place between Sir Robert Walpole and Lord Townsend, under the Reign of George the First; when the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State seized each other by the Throat;—a Scene which *Gay* is supposed to have pourtrayed in “The Beggar’s Opera,” under the Characters of Peachum and Lockitt. Selwyn was a Member of the House of Commons, during the greater Part of his Life; and down to the Year 1780, he constantly represented Gloucester, near which City he had a Seat, at Matson. The Unpopularity consequent on the American War, throughout the whole Progress of which Contest he supported Government, occasioned his being rejected by his old Constituents, at the General Election which took Place in that Year. He told me, that during the memorable Siege of Gloucester, undertaken by Charles the First in 1643, Charles, Prince of Wales, and James, Duke

of York, who both in turn ascended the Throne, but, who were then Boys, remained at Matson. And he added, that James the Second, after he came to the Crown, used frequently to mention the Circumstance to his Grandfather when he went to Court; observing, “ My Brother and I were generally shut up in a Chamber on the second Floor at Matson, during the Day; where you will find that we have left the Marks of our Confinement, inscribed with our Knives, on the Ledges of all the Windows.”

Selwyn possessed infinite Wit. He had indeed succeeded to Philip, Earl of Chesterfield's Reputation for *Bon Mots*, most of which that then attained to any Celebrity, were either made by, or attributed to, him. Their Effect, when falling from his Lips, became greatly augmented by the listless and drowsy Manner in which he uttered them;—for, he always seemed half asleep: yet the Promptitude of his Replies was surprizing. The late Duke of Queensberry, who lived in the most intimate Friendship with him, told me that Selwyn was present at a public Dinner with the Mayor and Corporation of

Glocester, in the Year 1757, when the intelligence arrived of our Expedition having failed before Rochfort. The Mayor turning to Selwyn, "You, Sir," said he, "who are "in the ministerial Secrets, can no doubt "inform us of the Cause of this Misfortune?" Selwyn, though utterly ignorant on the Subject, yet unable to resist the Occasion of amusing himself at the Enquirer's Expense, "I will tell you in Confidence the "Reason, Mr. Mayor," answered he; "the "Fact is, that the scaling Ladders prepared "for the Occasion, were found on Trial to "be too short." This Solution, which suggested itself to him at the Moment, was considered by the Mayor to be perfectly explanatory of the Failure, [and as such, he communicated it to all his Friends; not being aware, though Selwyn perfectly well knew, that Rochfort lies on the river Charente, some Leagues from the Sea-shore, and that our Troops had never even effected a Landing on the French Coast.

But it was not merely as a Man of Wit, that I delighted in his Society. He was likewise thoroughly versed in our History, and Master of many curious Anecdotes, re-

lative to the Houses of Stuart and of Brunswick. As he had an Aversion to all long Debates in Parliament, during which he frequently fell asleep; we used to withdraw sometimes to one of the Committee Rooms up Stairs, for the Purpose of Conversation. Talking to him of the Death and Execution of Charles the First, he assured me that the Duchess of Portsmouth always asserted, as having been communicated to her by Charles the Second, that his Father was not beheaded either by Colonel Pride, or Colonel Joyce; though one of the two is commonly considered to have performed that Act. The Duchess maintained that the Man's Name was Gregory Brandon. He wore a black Crape stretched over his Face, and had no sooner taken off the King's Head, than he was put into a Boat at Whitehall Stairs, together with the Block, the black Cloth that covered it, the Axe, and every Article stained with the Blood. Being conveyed to the Tower, all the Implements used in the Decapitation, were immediately reduced to Ashes. A Purse containing a hundred broad pieces of Gold was delivered to him, after which Recompence he received his Dismission. Brandon survived the Transac-

tion many Years, but divulged it a short Time before he expired. This Account, as coming from the Duchess of Portsmouth, challenges great Respect.

From his own Father, who had acted a conspicuous Part during Sir Robert Walpole's Administration, Selwyn knew many of the secret Springs of Affairs, under George the First and Second. He told me that the former of those Kings, when he came over here from Hanover in 1714, understanding very imperfectly the English Language; found himself so weary while assisting at the Service in the Chapel Royal, that he frequently entered into Conversation in French or German, with the Persons behind him. Charles the Second, who could not plead the same Excuse for his Inattention; was accustomed, as we know from *Burnet*, to fall fast asleep; and Harry Bennet, afterwards created Earl of Arlington, usually awoke His Majesty towards the Conclusion of the Sermon. Among the few Individuals who had retained under the new Reign, the Places that they held or occupied about Queen Anne, was Dr. Younger,

Dean of Salisbury. Anticipating the Change of Sovereigns, he had applied with such Success to render himself Master of the German Language, that he was continued in the Office of Clerk of the Closet, which gave him great Access to the King, behind whose Chair he usually stood at Chapel. With Younger, His Majesty often talked during the Service ; a Circumstance, which as being indecorous, naturally excited much Offence. Lord Townsend, then one of the Secretaries of State, animated by a Sense of loyal Affection, ventured to acquaint him that his Department at Chapel, gave Cause of Regret, mingled with Animadversion, to many of his most attached Subjects ; beseeching him at the same Time, particularly to abstain from conversing with Dr. Younger. Far from resenting the Freedom taken with him, His Majesty promised Amendment ; and Lord Townsend strongly enjoined the Clerk of the Closet to observe in future the most decorous Behaviour on his Part. Finding however that they resumed or continued the same Practice, Lord Townsend sent Younger a positive Order, as Secretary of State, directing him, with-

out presuming to present himself again in the royal Presence, to repair immediately to his Deanery. Dr. Younger, conceiving the Injunction to proceed from the King, obeyed without Remonstrance or Delay; and the Secretary waiting on His Majesty, informed him that the Dean had received a Kick from a Horse which fractured his Skull, of which Accident he was dead. George the First expressed the deepest Concern at his Loss, and never entertained the most remote Idea of the Deception which had been practised on him. Several Years afterwards, before which Time Lord Townsend had quitted his Employment, the King going down to review some Regiments that were encamped on Salisbury Plain, the Bishop and Chapter of that City had the Honor to be presented to him, and to kiss his Hand. But, when Younger approached for the Purpose, His Majesty, overcome with Amazement at beholding again a Man whom he had long considered as no more, could scarcely restrain his Emotions. As soon however as Circumstances permitted, he sent for the Dean into his Presence, and a mutual Explanation took Place. Conscious of the Rectitude and Propriety of the Mo-

tives which had actuated Lord Townsend in his Conduct, he never expressed any Sentiment of Anger, or of Resentment; but contented himself with promising Younger to confer on him a Mitre, as soon as an Occasion should present itself: an Assurance which he would have probably realized, if the Dean had not shortly afterwards been carried off by Death.

Selwyn's nervous Irritability, and anxious Curiosity to observe the Effect of Dissolution on Men, exposed him to much Ridicule, not unaccompanied with Censure. He was accused of attending all Executions; and sometimes, in order to elude Notice, disguised in a female Dress. I have been assured that in 1756, he went over to Paris, expressly for the Purpose of witnessing the last Moments of Damien, who expired under the most acute Torture, for having attempted the Life of Louis the Fifteenth. Being among the Croud, and attempting to approach too near the Scaffold, he was at first repulsed by one of the Executioners; but, having informed the Person, that he had made the Journey from London, solely with a View to be present at the Punishment

and Death of Damien, the Man immediately caused the People to make Way, exclaiming at the same Time, “ *Faites place pour Monsieur. C’est un Anglois, et un Amateur.*” The Baron Grimm, in his “Correspondence,” asserts that the Fact took Place, not with Respect to Selwyn, but, to the celebrated Condamine. Mr. Pitt, in order to recompense Selwyn for the Place of “Paymaster of the Works,” of which he was deprived by Burke’s Bill, made him in 1784, “Surveyor General of the Crown Lands,” which Office he retained till his Decease, in 1790.

[26th—30th April.] Hitherto, however, Fox occasionally indulged himself in Animadversions of Severity on the late Administration, yet no direct Attack upon any of the Members of that Cabinet, had been made by the new Ministers, or by their Friends. But, Sawbridge, acting independently of Men in Office, brought forward to the Notice of the House at this Time, as a Matter of Revision or of Censure, a Pension of a thousand Pounds a Year, granted during the last Days of Lord North’s Continuance in Power, to Mr. Robinson, one of the

Secretaries of the Treasury. Sawbridge commented on the Grant, with all the republican Bitterness of his Character. Lord North defended, and Robinson explained, the Circumstances attending the Transaction: while the Secretary of State availed himself of the Subject and the Occasion, to inveigh against the late first Lord of the Treasury; unconscious how soon he should be compelled or induced, from ambitious Motives, to form the closest Connexions of Policy, and even of Friendship, with that Nobleman. After declaiming with no ordinary Asperity, against his Abuse of the Office that he recently held, in order to provide for his Adherents and Dependants, after he had declared in his Place within those Walls, that His Majesty's Ministers were no more; Fox exclaimed, "The noble
" Lord talks of the Services of his Secretary. Would to God that the Honorable
" Gentleman had been idle! Nor is the
" Observation confined to him. It extends
" to Men of a higher Rank. I wish to
" Heaven, they had employed themselves in
" Services less injurious to their Country!
" I beg of the House to understand that the
" Pension in question, as well as another of

“ five Hundred Pounds a Year, given to Sir
“ Grey Cooper, *and a third Pension which*
“ *has not been mentioned*, were the Work of
“ the late Ministers; not of the noble and
“ honorable Persons now called to His Ma-
“ jesty’s Councils.” Lord North having ob-
served that the *third Pension* alluded to by
Fox, which was one of three Thousand
Pounds a Year, recently granted to himself,
had invariably been bestowed by the Crown,
on all his Predecessors in the same Employ-
ment; added, that he had refused it, when
offered him, some Years earlier. But, the
Secretary replied, “ Men, who have ruined
“ their Country, are not entitled to the Re-
“ wards of meritorious Service! Nor will
“ the Public brook that the noble Lord shall
“ receive a Remuneration, equal to the great
“ and popular Earl of Chatham.”

Sawbridge, whose Pertinacity of Charac-
ter inclined him to prosecute with unremit-
ting Ardor, whatever Matter he undertook;
resumed the Business three Days after-
wards; concluding with a Motion, that “ the
“ Pension of one Thousand Pounds a Year
“ granted to John Robinson, Esq., *was un-*
“ *merited by public Service, and a lavish,*

“ *improvident Expenditure of the public Money.*” In the Course of his Speech on the Occasion, Sawbridge stated, that “ the noble Lord at the Head of the Treasury, from his habitual Indolence, entrusted to the Secretary the whole Management of that Department. To him, the Negotiation of Loans was committed, of which lucrative Transactions he reserved to himself a Share, as well as of other Contracts. To him likewise was confided *the Management of that House*, in which delicate Line of Service, he had displayed eminent Dexterity. For these meritorious Performances, he had obtained from the Crown, besides the Pension in question, Grants of Lands and Houses, together with the Reversion of an Office of considerable Magnitude;” every Particular of which the Mover detailed to the Assembly. Lord North was not present; but, Robinson, without Discomposure, answered all the Allegations; denied some of the Facts, and admitted others; leaving the House to act on the Occasion, as they might judge proper. Fox remained silent: but, Mr. Thomas Pitt rising as soon as Robinson concluded, besought the Assembly not to for-

get its own Dignity, and the great national Objects demanding their Attention, by occupying themselves in such pitiful Discussions. He therefore moved the *Order of the Day*, The Secretary of State instantly availed himself of this Proposition, which, he said, met his Approbation; though he paid many Compliments to Sawbridge, and accompanied them with the heaviest Imputations on the late Ministers. Mr. William Pitt supporting his Relation, recommended Unanimity, as presenting the only Hope of national Extrication; and the *Order of the Day* was carried without any Division, though not before Lord Surrey had moved for an Account of all Pensions granted from the 15th of February, down to that Time, the 30th of April. No Opposition being made to it, the Business terminated.

[1st—6th May.] Wilkes, who during more than thirteen successive Years, in various Parliaments, had vainly endeavoured to expunge from the Journals of the House of Commons, the memorable Resolutions relative to the Middlesex Election; after being so often foiled, at length attained his Object. The Division which took place

upon this Question, when 115 Members voted with him, and only 47 against him, was attended with the singular Circumstance of Lord North and Fox dividing together in the Minority. The new Secretary of State, whose original political Line of Conduct, while supporting the Administration which he had recently expelled, and of which he once formed a Part, made it sometimes difficult for him to maintain the Appearance of Consistency; affected to speak and to vote from the Treasury Bench, against Wilkes's Motion. He was, indeed, well aware of the Charge that would be made against him, and alluded to it in his Speech, which formed a Tissue of Contradictions. After observing that it was for the Benefit of the English People, to give the Power of Expulsion to the House of Commons; he nevertheless added, that when the public Voice had been loudly pronounced against it, as he admitted was the Case, he would not wish to preserve the Privilege, in order to make use of it for the Injury of the People. "Besides," subjoined he, "when the Power to enforce the Privilege is lost, it becomes no longer an Object to retain such a Privilege. The People have *asso-*

“ *ciated*, and have compelled Parliament to “ listen to their Voice.” Dundas likewise opposed Wilkes’s Motion; but he did not the less reprobate Fox’s Doctrine, as dangerous, and subversive of all Government. “ *Associations*,” he maintained, “ would lead “ to every Excess: for, if ten Individuals “ might legally associate, so might ten Thou- “ sand. From such Meetings, of which, “ Lord George Gordon had exhibited a “ Specimen, only Confusion, Tyranny, and “ Despotism, could arise.” The Secretary of State made no Reply: but, having unfortunately given his ministerial Sanction in early Life, to various Measures calculated for affixing parliamentary Disapprobation on the celebrated Member who originated the Motion; Fox therefore probably thought, that a Regard to his own Character compelled him, however contradictory to his late Line of Declamation and of Action, when haranguing his Constituents in Palace Yard; to abide by, and to attempt a Justification of his Conduct, relative to the Election for Middlesex. No public Man, indeed, in my Time, ever appeared to me to consider so little Apology requisite for the Contradictions and Derelictions of his poli-

tical Principles; or seemed so completely to regard the House of Commons, as an Assembly fit for becoming the willing Agents and Instruments of every Delusion, however gross or palpable, as Fox. The Difficulties of the Undertaking never deterred or intimidated him; and his splendid Talents, which could lend to Sophistry the Colours of Truth, emboldened him, by Turns, to attack and to defend, according to the Situation in which he stood, almost every Position and Tenet, either of monarchical Authority, or of constitutional Freedom.

While the House of Commons was thus occupied in Measures of Reform, or engaged in retracting their past parliamentary Errors; the new Ministers, as if they anticipated their speedy Dismission, employed the precious Moments of their precarious Power, in distributing among themselves, without Loss of Time, the Honors of the Crown. Four *Garters*, which had been found on the King's Table, unappropriated, at the Time of Lord North's Resignation, they naturally considered as lawful Plunder. One only of the Number fell to the Share of the Sovereign, which he was allowed, though

not without some Difficulty, to confer on his third Son, Prince William Henry, now Duke of Clarence. The remaining three were reserved for themselves, with a due Regard to their respective Consequence, Party, and Pretensions. Lord Rockingham having long since received the Order, from the Hands of George the Second; the Duke of Devonshire, as Head of the Whigs, was invested with one blue Ribband, and the Duke of Richmond honoured with another. Lord Shelburne took for himself, as was to be expected, the fourth *Garter*. A very great Person, then in early Youth, who was present at the Ceremony of the Investiture, observed with considerable Discrimination of Character, that never did three Men receive the Order in so dissimilar and characteristic a Manner. “The Duke of Devonshire,” said he, “advanced up to the Sovereign, with his phlegmatic, cold, awkward Air, like a Clown. Lord Shelburne came forward, bowing on every Side, smiling, and fawning, like a Courtier. The Duke of Richmond presented himself, easy, unembarrassed, and with Dignity, as a Gentleman.”

The Earl of Ashburnham, who had been during more than Six Years Groom of the Stole, laid claim to one of the *Garters*, under a Promise which he asserted to have received from the King, and of which he endeavoured to enforce the Performance. His Royal Master, though he did not deny the Engagement, pleaded his Inability to fulfil it, under the actual Circumstances of his Situation, which left him no longer any Option in distributing the Decorations in Question. This Excuse did not, however, satisfy Lord Ashburnham, who was said to have addressed to the King, a Letter of Reproach on the Occasion, couched in Language rather too severe from a Subject to his Sovereign, even if the Cause of Offence had been better proved, or more legitimate in itself. His Resentment at the supposed Infraction of the Royal Word, impelled him to resign his Office; which, as being in the King's immediate Family, and near his Person, has always been considered exempt from Ministerial Interference. Lord Weymouth, who succeeded him, had acted a much more important Part in earlier Periods of His Majesty's Reign, when he filled during a very

considerable Time, the Post of Secretary of State; and even held the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland, for a few Months, though he never crossed over to Dublin. He was a Man of very eminent Talents, though accompanied with great Singularities of Character; highly convivial, whose Conversation entertained and delighted: but, in order to profit of his Society, it was necessary to follow him to White's, to sit down to Supper, to drink deep of Claret, and to remain at Table till a very late Hour of the Night, or rather, of the Morning. "Junius," alluding to this well known Circumstance, when addressing the Duke of Grafton, in June, 1771; says, referring to Lord Weymouth, "Yet he must have Bread, my Lord, "or rather he must have Wine. If you "deny him the Cup, there will be no keeping him within the Pale of the Ministry." Lord Gower, the Chancellor, and Rigby, were, through Life, his intimate Friends and Companions. His Application to Business, by no means kept Pace with his Abilities, nor was he ever a popular Minister. Indeed, if we except the first Mr. Pitt; Henry Bilson Legge, who was Chancellor of the Exchequer, during about five Months after

His Majesty's Accession to the Throne; and perhaps we may add, to a certain Degree, the Marquis of Rockingham; all three of whom were devolved on him by his Grandfather, or forced upon him by the Nation; George the Third cannot be said to have had any Minister, in any Department, previous to Lord North's Resignation, who enjoyed Popularity. We must except from the Remark, Lord Camden, during the short Time that he held the Great Seal as Chancellor. Lord Weymouth attracted a considerable Portion of the Indignation which characterizes Junius's opening Letter, written in January, 1769, for having officially signed the Order which authorized the Military to fire on the Populace assembled in St. George's Fields. "Recovered from the " Errors of his Youth, from the Distraction " of Play, and the bewitching Smiles of " Burgundy," says that Writer, " behold " him exerting the whole Strength of his " clear, unclouded Faculties, in the Service " of the Crown." He had preceded Lord Ashburnham as Groom of the Stole, in 1775; from which Office he became Secretary of State for the Home Department; an Employment that he held about Four Years,

being succeeded in 1779 by the Earl of Hillsborough. Ten Years afterwards, Pitt created Lord Weymouth a Marquis.

Though the Administration of which Lord North so long constituted the Head, had ceased to exist, yet many of the Parliamentary Institutions which had originated under him, still continued in Activity. Among the principal, might be esteemed the Secret Committee for enquiring into the State of the East India Company's Affairs. The Lord Advocate of Scotland, as their Chairman, brought forward almost as soon as the House of Commons met after the Change of Ministers, various *Reports*, calculated to shew the Causes, not only of the Disgraces and Calamities sustained in the Carnatic, but of the improper Expenditure of Blood and Treasure in other Parts of Hindostan. On these *Reports* he founded a Number of *Resolutions*, which were finally adopted by the House. Sir Thomas Rumbold, late Governor of Madras, and two of his Colleagues, Members of the Council, became the first Objects of public Accusation. The second Blow fell on Sir Elijah Impey, who, in his Quality of Chief Justice of Bengal,

was supposed, or asserted, in more than one Instance, to have lent his legal Aid and Support to the Supreme Government, from self-interested Motives, and for unjust, as well as pernicious, Purposes. Hastings himself, then Governor General of Bengal, and Hornby, Governor of Bombay, became implicated or involved in these Criminations. Dundas, when mentioning the former, in the Course of his opening Speech to the House, admitted that Mr. Hastings had on many Occasions proved himself a most meritorious Servant of the East India Company; but, added, that he was not authorized to fancy himself an Alexander, or an Aurengzebe; preferring frantic military Expeditions before the Improvement of Commerce, and the Cultivation of the Arts of Peace. He then called on the new Ministers to aid and support him; or, if his Propositions for the Amelioration of our Affairs in India, clashed with any of their Plans, he offered to resign the whole Business into their Hands. Fox in Reply assured him of the warmest Support from Administration. Our Situation in the East, as depicted by the learned Lord, held up, he said, a Mirror, reflecting the State of our Affairs in the

West. Then alluding to Lord North, he subjoined, "The Effects of the pernicious
" System, which, thank God, is at length
" destroyed, are felt at this Hour throughout
" every Portion of the Empire!" Burke, in still stronger Language, inveighed against the System of Corruption, which, he asserted, had pervaded all the Channels of the State under the late Ministry. Measures, adapted to the Nature of the imputed Offences, or Misconduct of each of the above-mentioned Persons, were adopted. Rumbold, who possessed a Seat in the House, as one of the Representatives for Shaftsbury; having arrived from India early in 1781, under Circumstances that rendered him highly unpopular, was restrained from either leaving the Kingdom, or from alienating his Property, by Act of Parliament; and severer Steps were meditated, or set on Foot against him. He contrived nevertheless, after bringing his eldest Son into the House soon afterwards, to protract the Proceedings, and ultimately to elude all Punishment. An Address was voted by a great Majority, and presented to His Majesty, requesting him to recall Sir Elijah Impey from his judicial Situation in India. Finally, Resolutions, of a Nature

tending to hold out both Mr. Hastings and Mr. Hornby, in their public Capacity, as Men who had committed Acts of the most culpable or unjustifiable Kind, were agreed to in the House. But, the advanced Period of the Session, and the unsettled State of domestic Affairs in a Cabinet divided by Animosity, prevented or postponed the further Prosecution of these interesting Concerns, to the subsequent Year.

On the other Side the Atlantic, Misfortune still accompanied the English Arms. St. Christopher's, after a long and gallant Defence, surrendered : the Islands of Nevis and Montserrat were lost. Even the valuable Settlements of Demerara and Essequibo, situate on the Continent of South America, which we had taken in the preceding Year from the Dutch, were recaptured by France. Rodney, indeed, having arrived out, joined Sir Samuel Hood at Barbadoes : but he found himself unable to intercept, or to prevent, the Arrival of a Convoy from Brest, which brought to the French Admiral de Grasse, supplies the most essential for his projected hostile Operations. At Home, general Despondency or Apathy pervaded

the Country. Every Allegation which had been brought forward against the late First Lord of the Admiralty while in Office, was renewed with augmented Violence, now that he had retired to private Life; and these Clamors were supported or encouraged by the new Ministers. Fox, speaking on the Subject of Retrenchment, in the House of Commons, upon the 6th of May, when Burke's Bill for diminishing the royal Household, was under Consideration, launched out into his accustomed Condemnation of the preceding Ministry. "An Enquiry into the actual State of the Finances," he observed, "was already commenced. He anxiously wished that another Enquiry should be instituted, to disclose the Condition of the Navy, *which had been found deplorable beyond Conception.*" "As to the Nature of our foreign Alliances," added he, "no Enquiry is necessary. Should a Committee be appointed to sit upon that Subject, their Report must be concise; *we have none.*" Sir George Rodney's Victory constituted the best Reply to the Charges made against Lord Sandwich. The American War, and the Calamities which it produced, not any Want of Exertion, Foresight, or Ta-

lent in the late Cabinet, had alienated from us the Continental Powers, and rendered ineffectual every Endeavour to form Connexions of Policy or Friendship with the European States. Rodney himself was enveloped in the Accusations levelled against the Board of Admiralty which had sent him out; and Disasters more severe than any that we had yet experienced, were predicted or anticipated, as about to happen in that Quarter of the Globe where he commanded. Never was the Nation less prepared for, nor less in Expectation of, the great Victory that impended in the West Indies, than a Week, or even a Day, before the Intelligence arrived. It required the utmost Exertions of the new Admiralty, to prevent the Dutch Squadron, which quitted the Texel at this Time, from effecting a Junction with the combined Fleets of France and Spain, commanded by Guichen. Lord Howe, now restored to the British Navy, and like Keppel, created an English Viscount, effected a Service so distinguished, which unquestionably entitled him to the Gratitude of his Country.

[7th May.] If Mr. Pitt, whether from the

Dictates of profound Ambition, or from the Calculations of ordinary Prudence, had thought proper to refuse accepting any Place or Situation under the new Ministry; he did not on that Account, withdraw his individual Exertions as a Member of Parliament, or retire in any Degree from public View and Admiration. On the contrary, he came eminently forward at this Time, as a Candidate for national Approbation, in the delicate, as well as arduous Character of a political Reformer. The Spirit of the Times, which operated greatly in his Favor, removed many of those Obstacles, that might have impeded him, if he had made the Attempt under the former Administration. While Burke carried Retrenchment into the Palace, as well as to the Table, of the Sovereign; Pitt aspired to renovate, or to reorganize, the national Representation. In the Progress of a Speech, conceived with consummate Ability, and delivered from the Treasury Bench, he endeavoured to shew the Vices of the actual State of popular Election, and to point out the most efficacious or salutary Remedies. The Abuses alleged by him to exist, which were indeed indisputable, seemed at first Sight loudly to

demand Redress. But, on the other Hand, Theory and Practice might be found greatly at Variance; and even the Reformers themselves, it was well known, differed widely in their Ideas or Opinions on the Point. The Duke of Richmond, who carried his Principles to an Utopian and visionary Length, would have extended the Right of voting, almost to the whole Population of Great Britain. Fox supported on this Occasion, both with his Eloquence and his Vote, the Plan proposed by Pitt: but, Burke, less democratic in his Ideas of Government, refused to lend his powerful Aid to a Cause which he disapproved. The Secretary at War, Mr. Townsend, who looked forward to the Possession of a Borough, at the Decease of George Selwyn, his Uncle; equally absented himself, as did others of the ministerial Followers. Lord North, though he attended the Discussion, and opposed all Innovation, yet, to the Surprise of his Friends, took no active Part in the Debate. Dundas, however, supplied his Place, and made an animated Appeal against the projected Reform; as did Mr. Thomas Pitt, at great Length, with much Ability. Indeed, I thought his Speech as eloquent, as persuasive, and more solid in its Deductions,

than that of his Relation, who brought forward the Question.

Conscious as Mr. Thomas Pitt was, that he represented only a *nominal* Borough; and elected Himself, together with his Father-in-Law, Pinckney Wilkinson, as Members for *Old Sarum*; he felt the Subject to demand extraordinary Delicacy. Nor did he make a false Step, from the Commencement to the Close of his Discourse. On the contrary, he endeavoured with great Address, to shew from his own Conduct through successive Parliaments;—for he had sate, I believe, in five;—that a Man returned to the House of Commons by a single Tenement, might be as independent, as high minded, and as incorrupt, as he who took his Seat for a County, or for the City of London. While he paid the greatest Compliments to the Mover of the Proposition, he denied the Principles and the Facts on which his Relation founded every one of his Conclusions. Equality of Representation, Mr. Thomas Pitt observed, never was, nor could have been the Basis on which our Ancestors meant to erect the Liberties of England, since they allowed

the little County of Rutland to send as many Members to that Assembly, as Yorkshire or Somerset. To one Proposition for reforming the Representation, and to one only, which had been recommended by the great Earl of Chatham, he expressed his Assent; namely, the Addition of a Knight of the Shire, or Member for every County throughout England. Sawbridge seconded, and Sheridan supported, Pitt's Motion; but, Sir Charles Turner, by his Originality and blunt Simplicity of Diction, as well as of Sentiment, attracted more Attention than either the one or the other. He said, "in
"his Opinion, the House of Commons
"might be justly considered as a Parcel of
"Thieves, who having stolen an Estate,
"were apprehensive of allowing any Person:
"to see the Title Deeds, from the Fear of
"again losing it by such an Inspection.
"That they were not the Representatives of
"the People, was clear; for, they had car-
"ried on the cursed American War, though
"the Voice of the whole Nation opposed it."
"I believe, indeed," added he, "the present
"Ministers are more honest than their Pre-
"decessors; but I want the Constitution to
"be so established, that no Administration,

“ however bad, may be able to convert it to
“ the Injury of the People.” Powis strongly
opposed the Motion, as did Rigby, who
not only treated all Innovations as dangerous
theoretical Experiments, but, denied that a
Reform in the national Representation, was
demanded by the People. *Associations*, he
said, formed exclusively of Individuals who
met for the express Purpose, proceeded to
elect *Delegates*; and these latter published
Resolutions in the Newspapers, which were
falsely assumed to speak the public Opinion.
Sir Horace Mann moved *the Order of the
Day*.

The Measure itself not being a Party
Question, though of a Nature the most in-
teresting; by no Means attracted the Atten-
dance which had been produced by the
Motions, that preceded the Dissolution of
the late Administration. Scarcely more
than three hundred Members voted upon it,
while near five hundred had been present in
more than one of the Divisions of the Month
of March. Pitt's Proposition “ to appoint
“ a Committee for enquiring into the State
“ of the National Representation,” though it
could only be considered as a preliminary
Step, yet was negatived by a Majority of

twenty. I made one of that small Majority, and it is a Vote of which I not only never have repented, but, of which I more and more approve on full Consideration ;—for, I have always regarded the Rejection of Pitt's Attempt, in 1782, to alter the national Representation, as one of the narrowest Escapes which the British Constitution has had of Subversion, in our Time. Eleven Individuals passing over from one Side to the other, might have opened wide the Door of Innovation. And, once opened, what Power could shut it? The Moment too was peculiarly favorable to Propositions of Reform and Amelioration, when the Nation, bent down and disgusted by the Calamities of the American War, lent a ready Ear to every Project that held out the Prospect of a better Order of Things. When the same Subject was agitated anew in the following Session, the Danger was over. Peace had been restored; and though Mr. Pitt not only brought it again forward, but, was joined by two of his most formidable Opponents ;—I mean, Mr. Thomas Pitt, and Mr. Dundas ;—yet the House rejected it by a great Majority. So complete a Change had taken Place in public Opinion, between the two Periods! It was indeed difficult not to re-

flect, while listening to the Arguments of Mr. Pitt, who eloquently depicted the Corruption of the rotten Boroughs, among which, several, he said, “were to be considered as within the Controul of the Carnatic; and under the immediate Influence of the Nabob of Arcot;” that he was himself, sitting at that very Time, for Appleby, by the Influence, or in other Words, by the Nomination of an English Nabob, Sir James Lowther. To the corrupted State of the Representation, therefore, it was owing that he had himself obtained a Place in the House of Commons.

It was equally impossible not to be conscious, that if the Regulation which enacts, that every Member of that Assembly shall be *bonâ fide* possessed of three hundred Pounds per Annum Freehold Estate, had been severely and literally enforced; neither Fox, nor Pitt, nor Sheridan, nor many other eminent Individuals, could ever have sate in Parliament. Probably, indeed, on the Day that Mr. Pitt made his Motion, he scarcely possessed any Property; certainly, no landed Property: and as to Fox, though actually Secretary of State, he was known to be plunged in Debts,

contracted by Play, which left him without Fortune, or almost Means of Support. But they did not less constitute the two most distinguished Persons of the Age in which they lived, the Ornaments of their Country in different Lines. Fox always maintained without Reserve, in private Conversation, as well as in Parliament, that to enforce rigidly the Rule relative to the Qualifications of Members, would be at once to exclude Talents from obtaining Entrance into the House. So little, indeed, may Speculation and Fact agree, that if the List of Representatives for the County of York, of Devon, or of Lincoln, ever since the Reign of Elizabeth, down to the present Year, were to be compared with those who have been sent to Parliament during the same Period of Time, from the vilest Cornish Borough; we shall find, that in every Quality justly recommending to a Seat in the Legislature; namely, high Birth, extensive Property, distinguished Talents, or public Principle and Virtue; the Superiority will be found, in many Instances, perhaps in most, to incline on the Side of the Persons elected for the Boroughs. Such an Estimate might be difficult to make, and must be always in some Measure open to Dispute: but it serves

to prove, that various Principles in Legislation, as well as various Abuses, do not produce the Effects which might naturally be expected to result from them in Theory.

[8th—16th May.] Two great public Measures were successively brought forward about this Time, by the new Administration; of both which, the Secretary of State formed the official Organ for their Communication to the House of Commons. Both appeared to me highly deserving of Approbation, as dictated by a vigorous Policy, or by a Spirit of wise Conciliation. The first was a Plan for arming the People, or more properly, an Invitation to them to arm themselves, contained in a circular Letter addressed by the Minister for the Home Department, to the Magistrates of the principal Cities throughout the Kingdom. If we contemplate the critical Position of Great Britain in May, 1782, previous to our receiving the Intelligence of Rodney's Victory; surrounded by Enemies who had been during successive Years, almost Masters of the English Channel; while the whole East Coast, from Leith down to Yarmouth, lay exposed to an Attack or to an Invasion from the Dutch,

who had recently treated with Contempt, Fox's Overtures for a separate Treaty ;—if we weigh these Circumstances, we cannot with Justice refuse our full Tribute of Praise to an Act of such judicious Energy. Mr. Daniel Parker Coke, nevertheless, animated, as he always was, by public spirited and honest, though in this Instance, mistaken Views of national Benefit, or Safety ; brought the Consideration of Lord Shelburne's Letter before the House of Commons. Mindful of Lord George Gordon's Outrages, when a furious, but, happily, an unarmed Mob, surrounded and menaced both the Assemblies of Parliament ; he called upon the King's Ministers to explain and to justify their present Proceeding : a Proceeding unauthorized previously by either Branch of the Legislature. Thus questioned, or rather, inculpated, Fox rose, and in a Speech of great Ability, worthy an enlightened, as well as a liberal Statesman, assigned the most convincing Reasons for the Adoption of the Measure. Nor did he omit, according to his usual Practice, to derive new Arguments in its Justification, drawn from the Incapacity, Neglect, or culpable Want of Exertion in the late Ministers ; whom he accused of

keeping the Country ignorant of their Danger, and not daring, Themselves, to look it in the Face. He received nevertheless on this Occasion, both from Dundas and from Rigby, the strongest Assurances of Support, accompanied with the warmest Eulogiums on the Conduct of the Cabinet. Mr. Coke himself, though sustained in his Arguments by Mansfield, the late Solicitor General, admitted the Validity of the Reasons which the Secretary of State assigned, and only demanded that the Measure should receive the Sanction of Parliament, previous to its general Adoption. No Act of the Marquis of Rockingham's Government seems entitled to more unqualified Commendation, than the Plan for thus rendering the People, the Agents of their own Protection against foreign Force. It has been found in later Times, when improved and extended, our best Security against internal Insurrection, as well as against the formidable Armaments of revolutionary France.

[17th May.] The second Measure to which I allude, regarded Ireland, and was dictated by an overwhelming Necessity, if not by enlarged and generous Views of Po-

licity. That Island, completely in Possession of Independence, and defended by her own Volunteers, exacted, with Arms in her Hands, a Renunciation of all Parliamentary or legislative Supremacy on the Part of Great Britain, together with a similar Abandonment of the appelliant Jurisdiction exercised here in the Courts of Law. In Return for these Concessions, she offered her loyal Submission to the King of *Ireland*, the common Sovereign of both Kingdoms. Fox, after demonstrating with great Force of Reason, that we had no other Alternative left us than Acquiescence, subjoined, “ If therefore
“ I shall this Day be compelled to move
“ any Proposition humiliating to English-
“ men, the Fault is not mine. It is the
“ Fault of those Ministers, who left the Vo-
“ lunteers of Ireland in a Condition to make
“ the Demands, contained in the Addresses
“ laid upon your Table: not, indeed, by
“ leaving Arms in their Hands, but, by leav-
“ ing them their Injuries and their Oppres-
“ sions.”—“ Of the Volunteers themselves, I
“ must speak respectfully: for, they have
“ acted with Temper and Moderation; nor
“ have they committed a single Act, which
“ does not excite my Veneration and Re-

“ spect. Whatever Blame may be attributed
“ throughout this whole Business, I impute
“ not a Particle of it to Ireland. *I lay it all*
“ *at the Door of the late Administration.*”
He then moved to repeal the Act of 1719,
which declared the Dependence of Ireland
on the Crown of Great Britain; observing,
that it would constitute a Pledge to the In-
habitants of the Sister Island, of our Sincere-
rity, and Determination to conduct ourselves
openly throughout every Stage of the Trans-
action.

Mr. Thomas Pitt, who had performed a
very prominent Part in all the Debates of
the lower House, during the whole Course
of the last, and of the present Session, se-
conded the Motion; but, not without previ-
ously entering his Protest against some of
the Principles and Doctrines laid down by
Fox on that Day. Doctrines or Opinions,
which, it must be owned, coming from a Mi-
nister of the Crown, seated on the Treasury
Bench, having the Management of the House
of Commons, and in some Measure direct-
ing the Cabinet itself, sounded very extraor-
dinary to loyal Ears; and savoured more,
as I thought, of Algernon Sydney, or of
Hampden, than of a Secretary of State under

a Monarchy. Not a Word was uttered throughout the whole Discussion, by any Member of Lord North's Administration, either in their own Exculpation, or expressive of their Sentiments relative to the Propositions about to be adopted. I must except Mr. Eden from this Remark, who was present in his Place, and gave his Assent or Approbation, qualified nevertheless by certain Reservations, to Fox's Proposal. The Motions passed without a dissentient Voice, though not without a Feeling of universal Humiliation. Ireland, imitating America, had in Fact emancipated herself from all Subjection to British Laws, but she still remained obedient to the Monarchy. Perhaps, this Day may be esteemed the Point of our lowest Depression as a Nation, during the calamitous Period of Time between the Commencement of the American War in 1775, and the Peace of 1783. Only a few Hours afterwards, arrived the Tidings of Rodney's Victory; an Event which electrified the whole Population of Great Britain; proportionately depressed our European Enemies; and being followed by their Repulse before Gibraltar, at the Interval of scarcely four Months, produced our Extrinsication.

Pitt having failed in his Attempt to alter the Representation in the House of Commons, Sawbridge endeavoured in some measure to attain the same Object, by shortening the Duration of Parliaments; but, his Motion was happily rejected; 149 voting against it, while only 61 Members supported the Proposition. The Debate nevertheless was not only animated, but, gave rise to some Circumstances of great Singularity. Rigby opposed it, as from *Him* might have been expected; treating the Idea itself with Contempt or Ridicule, and utterly denying that it was either the Sense or the Wish of the People at large. He concluded by adverting to a Meeting of the Electors of Westminster, which had been held in Westminster Hall a few Days before; observing sarcastically, that “the best Sense of the Assembly there convened, could not probably be collected upon this Occasion, on Account of Mr. Fox’s Absence from it.” The Secretary of State immediately rose, and with the manly Disdain of all little prudential Arts, or half Measures, which always characterized him, whether in, or out of Office, replied, that his only Reason for not taking the Chair, when that numerous and respectable Body of In-

dividuals met, was because he knew their Intention of addressing His Majesty, on the late Change of Ministers. Being himself a Member of the new Cabinet, he conceived it indecorous to preside on such an Occasion. "The Right Honorable Gentleman," continued he, "who has just sate down, asks, "how we are to collect the Sense of the "People? Why, let him turn his Eyes to- "wards Ireland, and see how it has been "collected there. The Parliament of that "Country spoke one Language, and the "Nation spoke another. In Consequence, "the People armed: but it is the Fatality "of this Country, never to open its Eyes "till general Ruin menaces, and every Man "is preparing to take up a Musket." We must admit that these Expressions, even if we allow their Truth, and admire their Energy, would have been more suitable to the Leader of Opposition, than to a Man filling one of the highest Offices of State. Such unquestionably was the Impression made by them at St. James's; and I believe I might add, in St. Giles's. It was evident that Fox, even while holding the Seal of his Department, looked more to the Approbation and Support of the People, for retaining

his Situation, than to the Favor of the Sovereign. We may even suspect that he already foresaw or anticipated the Events which took Place, only a few Weeks afterwards, on Lord Rockingham's Decease. Nor can we wonder that George the Third should entertain strong Prejudices against a Man, who seemed never to forget that he owed his Power solely to the Predilection of the People, and who only hoped to preserve it by their active Interference. Fox, when speaking in the House of Commons, would have done wisely to recollect, that another illustrious Statesman, as well as profound Writer, who, like himself, passed almost his whole Life in Opposition to the Government of his Day;—I mean, the Cardinal de Retz;—has observed—“*qu'il vaut mieux faire des Sottises, que d'en dire;*” Words dictated by a perfect Knowledge of human Nature and of Man.

Pitt sustained Sawbridge's Motion with far more Decision, more Energy, and with a much stronger Conviction of its Utility to the Cause of constitutional Freedom, than was manifested by the Secretary of State. The latter lent only a very limited Appro-

bation to it; adding, that “as he was convinced the People wished it, and *would have it*, he should vote for it; though he doubted whether it would be productive of the beneficial Effects, expected to result from the Proposition.” I am indeed persuaded, that if Fox had been once confirmed in Office, and acceptable to the Sovereign, he would have steadily repressed all democratic Innovations; as, on the other Hand, had Pitt passed his whole Life on the Opposition Bench, poor and excluded from Power, I believe he would have endeavoured to throw his Weight into the Scale of the popular Representation. So much does Situation, as well as Sentiment, operate on the Tenor of our Conduct through Life! It appeared to me, that Pitt had received from Nature, a greater Mixture of republican Spirit, than animated his Rival; but, royal Favor and Employment softened its Asperity; while his superior Judgment and Command over himself, enabled him to conceal those Emotions, to which Fox imprudently gave vent. Sir Charles Turner set the House in a Roar, though at his own Expence, by his Answer to Rigby’s Observations on the Meeting held in Westminster

Hall. "I will make free to tell the Right
"Honorable Gentleman," said he, "that
"more good Sense was uttered in that As-
"sembly, and to a much honester Audience,
"than I ever witnessed within these Walls.
"The People who attend there, do not come
"for Hire, and to get Places. They meet
"for the Purpose of asserting their Rights,
"and to defend their Wives and Children."

Powis, whose Love of Liberty was always under the Controul of Moderation, good Sense, and Loyalty; opposed Sawbridge's Experiment on the British Constitution, as neither desired by the Nation in general, nor, if conceded, likely to operate for the public Felicity and Advantage. In a Speech of considerable Length, full of Matter, decorated with all the Charms of Elocution, Burke brought his powerful Assistance to the same Side; demonstrating how injurious to the People themselves, to the public Tranquillity, and to the Greatness of the State, the Abbreviation of Parliaments would be found in Practice. He always held and maintained similar Principles: nor was Fox, I believe, at all chagrined at the Result of the Debate, and of the Division.

Nearly two Months had now elapsed since Lord North's Resignation; during which Period of Time, though he attended frequently in his Place; yet, except when personally attacked, as he had been a few Weeks before, on the subject of his own, and of Robinson's Pension; he had scarcely given any Marks of political, or parliamentary Existence. Still less had he thrown any Impediments in the Way of the new Ministers. Even Fox's Reproaches or Accusations did not seem to rouse him, though they might painfully wound his Feelings. This Line of Action was probably wise and judicious, as it allowed Time for the Operation of Events, domestic, as well as foreign; while he might avail himself of the Errors of the new Ministers, or of their Divisions. The Fate of Jamaica in the West, of our Territories in the East, and of Gibraltar in the South, were all problematical. Under so deep a Cloud, oppressed by the Loss of America, and unpopular, he could not immediately emerge. Like Lord North, Jenkinson equally withdrew from public Observation; rather affecting to take his Seat, unnoticed, in obscure Parts of the House, than to appear conspicuous on the

Opposition Bench; though he more than once rose to speak on Points unconnected with Party, as they presented themselves for Discussion; and he never spoke without throwing Light on the Subject under Examination. Among all the eminent Supporters of the late Ministry, Dundas and Rigby alone held together, spoke, voted, and acted in a sort of Concert; sometimes supporting the new Administration, but, without abandoning their former Opinions or Principles. This Union nevertheless terminated with Lord Rockingham's Tenure of Power; Dundas then attaching himself to the Earl of Shelburne and Pitt; while Rigby, pressed for the Payment of his large Balances due to the Public, finally joined the Coalition of Lord North and Fox.

In 1782, Rigby might however be considered as a declining, if not a setting Luminary; whereas the Lord Advocate of Scotland was a rising political Constellation. Nor could any Comparison be made between their respective Abilities. The late Paymaster of the Forces, who had risen under the Patronage of John, Duke of Bedford, by whose Friendship he was principally elevated to the lucrative Post that he had so

long exclusively occupied; derived his principal Support from the powerful Party of that deceased Nobleman, better known during the first Years of the present Reign, by the Denomination of "the Bloomsbury Gang." His own Talents, which had received very little Improvement from Education or Cultivation; though good, and admirably calculated in many Points of View, for a popular Assembly, yet derived much of their Effect from the Manner of their Possessor. He spoke too from an Eminence, while holding the Pay Office, where the Festivity of his Table attracted many Supporters. But, when dislodged from that Fortress where he had sustained himself so long, and removed to a House of very moderate Dimensions in St. James's Place, his Abilities sunk nearer to their just Level. He might indeed have then said to George the Third, as the Lord Keeper, Sir Nicholas Bacon, did to Queen Elizabeth, when she observed that his House was too small for him, "It is your Majesty who has made me "too great for my House." Dundas, on the other Hand, though no longer seated on the Treasury Bench by Lord North, and thrown into the Shade, in consequence of the Change of Administration, contained in

himself all the Materials of which a superior Minister might be composed. True, indeed, he wanted the classic Elegance of Pitt and Fox, of Burke and Sheridan : but, in masculine Eloquence, Decision of Character, Firmness, Resources of Mind, Suavity of Manners, Application, and all the Qualities of a Statesman, he manifested no Deficiency.

[18th May.] Such was the general Aspect of the House of Commons, when the Capital and the Country were thrown into a Delirium of Joy, on receiving the Intelligence of Rodney's Victory over De Grasse, gained upon the preceding 12th of April. It is difficult for us in this Age, who have been accustomed to obtain naval Advantages over the French ; and who were used to calculate beforehand, on the Destruction of every Fleet that effected its Escape from the Ports of France, as soon as we could come up with them ; to appreciate, or to imagine, its Effect on the public Mind. We had been habituated, during so long a Time, under Keppel, Byron, Hardy, Parker, Graves, Geary, Darby, and their Successors, to indecisive or unfortunate Engagements, productive of no beneficial Results, that the Na-

tion began to despair of recovering its former Ascendancy on the Ocean. In Fact, during near twenty Years, ever since the Termination of the War with France in 1763, the British Flag had scarcely been any where triumphant: while the Navies of the House of Bourbon, throughout the Progress of the American Contest, annually insulted us in the Channel, intercepted our mercantile Convoys, blocked our Harbours, and threatened our Coasts. Under these Circumstances, the Excess of the public Exultation was prodigiously augmented, by the Dejection that pervaded all Ranks during the former Part of the Month of May, and by the utter apparent Improbability of such an Event taking place.

When I reflect on the Emotions to which it gave rise in London, I cannot compare them with any Occurrence of the same Kind, that we have since witnessed in this Country. The Victory of Lord Howe, gained on the first of June, 1794, glorious and salutary as it was to Great Britain; yet seemed to be more a Triumph over Jacobinism and Anarchy, than over the French Nation or Navy. It was Robespierre and his regi-

cide Accomplices, not Louis the Sixteenth, whom we there vanquished. Lord St. Vincent, and Lord Duncan, unquestionably merited, each, the highest Eulogiums: but they destroyed, at Cape St. Vincent, and at Camperdown, the Fleets of Spain and of Holland, not those of France. And no Englishman is insensible to the Distinction. The sublime Victory of Trafalgar, itself, was clouded by the Death of Nelson, which checked and tempered the general Joy. If I were to mention any naval Action, the News of which seemed to diffuse Sentiments nearly resembling those felt in May, 1782, I should incline to name that of Aboukir. But, in the Battle of the Nile, where the Destruction of the Enemy was much more complete, though we destroyed and blew up the French Admiral's Ship, we did not either capture her, or her Commander. There was combined in Rodney's Victory, as Lord Loughborough at the Time remarked in the House of Peers, all "the Pomp and Pride, "and Circumstance of War." It commenced with the rising Sun, and only terminated with that setting Luminary. The Elements were hushed, only a light Air prevailing; and the contending Fleets were very

nearly matched. Jamaica, the Prize contended for by the two Nations, was preserved by the Result; while all the promised Conquests of France and Spain, so near their apparent Realization, disappeared, no more to be revived, even in Idea. It constituted a sort of Compensation to Great Britain, for so many Years of Disgrace, for so great an Expenditure of Blood and Treasure, and even for the Loss of America itself. The Country, exhausted and humiliated, seemed to revive in its own Estimation, and to resume once more its Dignity among Nations. France, amidst all her past Success, declined proportionably in the Opinion of Europe, and has never since arrogated the same Rank, as a Naval Power. It formed in Fact the last Triumph of England on the Element of the Water, over the House of Bourbon, before that great Family itself, after reigning eight hundred Years over the French, sunk under the Torrent of Revolution and Anarchy.

Lord Cranston, one of the Captains of the *Formidable*, Sir George Rodney's Ship, who brought over the News to this Country; having, in Consequence of that Commander's

special Injunctions, waited on Lord Sackville, though then no longer in Office as American Secretary, in order to communicate to him the Particulars of the Action ; I had an Opportunity of hearing Lord Cranstons Account of the Engagement. He was sent, after the *Ville de Paris* struck, to take Possession of her, as well as to receive de Grasse's Sword ; and he described the Scene which the French Admiral's Ship presented, on his ascending her Side, as altogether terrible. Between the fore-Mast and main-Mast, at every Step he took, he said that he was over his Buckles in Blood, the Carnage having been prodigious ; but, as Numbers of Cattle and Sheep were stowed between Decks, they had suffered not less than the Crew and Troops, from the Effects of the Cannon. On the Quarter-deck, which remained still covered with dead and wounded, only de Grasse himself, together with two or three other Persons, continued standing. The French Admiral had received a Contusion in the Loins, from a Splinter, but was otherwise unhurt ; a Circumstance the more remarkable, he having been, during the whole Action, for so many Hours, exposed to a destructive Fire, which swept away almost all

his Officers, and repeatedly cleared the Quarter-deck. He was a tall, robust, and martial Figure ; presenting in that Moment, an Object of Respect, no less than of Concern and Sympathy. Lord Cranston said, that de Grasse could not recover from the Astonishment into which he was plunged ; the Expressions of which he often reiterated, at seeing, in the Course of so short a Time, his Vessel taken, his Fleet defeated, and himself a Prisoner. He was allowed to pass the Night on board his own Ship, with every Testimony of Attention and Regard manifested towards him, on the Part of the British Commander.

An Opinion which became very generally prevalent at the Time, and obtained much Belief, has made a deep Impression on the public Mind ; namely, that this Victory, signal as it must ever be esteemed, might nevertheless have been rendered far more complete, if it had been immediately improved by pursuing without Delay, the flying Enemy. The Friends of Sir Samuel Hood strongly maintained that Position ; and partial as I am to the Memory of Lord Rodney, I confess that there always appeared to me,

to have been some Foundation for the Assertion. He was, himself, well aware of the Charge; and I have heard him defend the Line of Conduct which he adopted subsequent to the Victory, by very plausible, if not by solid and unanswerable Reasons. He observed, that it was altogether unwarrantable, and might have been attended with the most ruinous Consequences, to have detached twelve or more Ships of the Line, under Sir Samuel Hood, in Pursuit of twenty-five at least of the French; which Number remained together, as was believed, after the Action, and still constituted a most formidable Force. If any Check had been experienced by us, in consequence of such Eagerness or Precipitation, it was obvious that the Fruits of the Victory itself might even have been lost. Bougainville and Vaudreuil, who commanded under de Grasse, enjoyed a higher Reputation for naval Skill, than the Commander in chief, and might have repaired the Defeat. How far these Facts or Assertions may carry Conviction to every Mind, I cannot venture to determine.

Fox, when moving the Thanks of the House of Commons to Sir George Rodney,

which Act he performed in his Place, as Secretary of State, only a few Days afterwards; mentioned with Expressions of great Delight, the Unanimity which pervaded the victorious Fleet. "It was," he said, "with peculiar Satisfaction he could assure the House, that every Letter received from the West Indies, breathed the most perfect Harmony. No other Dispute or Competition existed among the Officers, except who should be most forward in advancing the public Cause." But, Lord Rodney, after his Return to England, made no Scruple of declaring the contrary in mixed Company, where I was myself present. He even wrote Home at the Time, in his private Letters, more than one of which I have seen; that so violent was the Spirit of Party and Faction in his own Fleet, as almost to supersede and extinguish the Affection felt towards their Sovereign and their Country, in the Bosoms of many Individuals serving under him. To such a Height had it attained, that he asserted there were among them, Officers of high Rank, and of unquestionable Courage, who nevertheless bore so inveterate an Animosity to the Administration then existing; particularly to

the First Lord of the Admiralty, the Earl of Sandwich; as almost to wish for a Defeat, if it would produce the Dismission of Ministers. Similar Assertions were made by Members of the House of Commons, in their Speeches. However incredible the Fact itself may appear, and however lamentable it must be considered, if it was well founded; yet it is not easy to conceive the Antipathies, political and personal, that had grown up in the English Navy, during the American War. They formed one of the characteristic Features of the Times, and operated to the inconceivable Injury of the British Name and Nation.

The Commencement of Rodney's public Letter, addressed to Mr. Stephens, the Secretary of the Admiralty, on this glorious Occasion, excited a Smile among the Critics and Grammarians; as he stated, that, "It had pleased God, *out* of his divine Providence, to grant to His Majesty's Arms a most complete Victory over the Fleet of his Enemy;" whereas, it seemed rather to have been an Act performed *in* his divine Providence. This Error of a Naval Commander, unaccustomed to Composition, and

whose Profession was not the Pen, but, the Sword; did not however attract the same Comments; as an official Dispatch which we have since perused, sent from one of His Britannic Majesty's Embassadors; who, addressing the Secretary of State, from *Constantinople*, appeared, by some Act of oblivious Inadvertence, to consider himself in *Asia*. Rodney's Enemies, of whom he had a great Number, asserted, that after the Victory was gained, he gave way to a Sort of Intoxication of Mind, on finding himself Master of the French Admiral's Person and Ship. I remember, they said that he seated himself in an Arm-chair, placed on the Quarter-deck of the "*Formidable*," as the Moon rose, in order to indulge his Sight with the View of the "*Ville de Paris*," which lay near him in a disabled state, and whose Sides far overtopped those of his own Vessel. And they added, that he burst into Expressions or Exclamations of extravagant Self-praise and Complacency; mingled with some Reproaches on the Want of ministerial Gratitude, which he had experienced for his past Services. Even admitting all these Facts to be true in their utmost Extent, they only prove the Infirmary of human Na-

ture; and similar Instances of Weakness occur in the History of the most illustrious Commanders. Rodney, like the celebrated Marshal Villars, so distinguished under Louis the Fourteenth, talked perpetually of himself, and was the Hero of his own Story. But, Posterity will never forget the Debt of Gratitude due to his Services, nor cease to consider him as one of the greatest Men whom the English Navy produced in the Course of the Eighteenth Century. He unquestionably displayed Coolness and Science, on the Day of the 12th of April; directed in Person every Manœuvre, and preserved during twelve Hours that the Action lasted, the utmost Presence of Mind. Lord Cranston said that he never quitted the Quarter-deck for a Minute, nor took any Refreshment, except the Support he derived from a Lemon, which he held constantly in his Hand, and applied frequently to his Lips.

If Rodney did not spare his Animadversions on the Spirit of political Enmity and Faction, which pervaded the British Navy; his Opponent, the Count de Grasse, made still louder Accusations, and sent Home

stronger Charges to the Court of Versailles, against the Jealousies or Rivalities which actuated the Officers serving under him, on that memorable Day. They doubtless, towards the Close of the Action, abandoned their Commander to his Fate, and sought their Safety in Flight: but, the unforeseen Manœuvre by which Rodney had intersected the French Line, at the Commencement of the Engagement, threw the whole Fleet into inextricable Confusion; and it is very doubtful, whether by prolonging, or even by renewing the Contest, Bougainville and Vaudreuil would have in any Measure retrieved the Misfortune. De Grasse, it is admitted on all Hands, displayed the most unconquerable Firmness. But, perhaps he highly merited Censure, at a Moment when he saw before him in full Prospect, so vast an Object as the Conquest and Reduction of Jamaica; not to have suffered one or two Ships of the French Line to fall into our Hands, rather than Sacrifice, as he did, the whole Plan of the Campaign, to their Preservation. I know such to have been the general Opinion entertained throughout France, where de Grasse laboured under popular Odium to so great a Degree, that

while, after the ensuing Peace, Suffrein always received, on entering the Theatres at Paris, the warmest Testimonies of Admiration, from every Part of the House; de Grasse did not venture to present himself at the public Spectacles, from the Apprehension of Insult. Even the Court manifested similar Sentiments; and though decorated with the Order of the “St. Esprit,” he could not obtain Permission to walk in the annual “Procession du Cordon Bleu” at Versailles, for several Years subsequent to the Defeat in the West Indies.

The Effect of so splendid a Service rendered to his Country, at a Moment of such Dejection, and the Popularity which it justly produced, in some Measure disarmed the meditated Attacks of Rodney’s Opponents at Home. Burke, who had heaped the severest Accusations upon him, for his Conduct towards the Inhabitants of St. Eustatius; and who was preparing to bring forward a Motion in the House of Commons, tending to criminate him for his Acts while in Possession of the Island; immediately abandoned the Intention. With one of those classic Allusions which were familiar to his

elegant Mind, he observed, that “ the great
“ national Benefit performed by the English
“ Admiral, obliterated his Errors ; and like
“ the Laurel Crown decreed by the Roman
“ Senate to Julius Cæsar, covered, as well
“ as concealed, his Baldness.” Even the
Rancour expressed by the new Ministers
and their Friends, towards Lord Sandwich,
seemed to be blunted, if not mollified, by
this undeniable Proof of his meritorious
Exertions, in sending out a Fleet to the
West Indies, capable of vanquishing the
French naval Force. It was justly said
that *Alexander* had conquered with the
Troops of *Philip*. No further Mention of
Impeachment or Prosecution, was made
against the late First Lord of the Admiralty.
The Cabinet, nevertheless, evincing, in every
Part of their Conduct, the Reluctance with
which they remunerated Rodney’s Merits ;
had already superseded him, by naming
Admiral Pigot to the Command of the Fleet
in the West Indies. But, as he had not
quitted England, before Intelligence arrived
of the Victory gained over de Grasse, it was
evidently the Wish of the Country, loudly
expressed, that Rodney should not be re-
called, at a Moment when he had raised the

naval Character of Great Britain, humbled France, and saved Jamaica: The new Administration, however, far from paying any Regard to this Expression of the general Opinion; and apprehensive of some Motion being made on the Subject, in one or the other of the two Houses of Parliament; instantly sent off Pigot, in a quick sailing Frigate, from Plymouth, with Orders to replace the victorious Commander.

Severe Comments were passed out of Doors, upon the Appointment, made under such Circumstances; especially as Pigot had been already constituted a Member of the new Board of Admiralty. Even the House of Commons, though since Lord North's Resignation, the Majority seemed completely subservient to Fox, yet manifested some Symptoms of Disapprobation. It was besides commonly asserted, that the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, lay under pecuniary Obligations to Pigot, of several thousand Pounds, for Losses incurred at Play. And, though such a Report might have originated in Error or Malevolence, yet it was difficult to disprove; as Fox's notorious Passion for Gaming, had subjected

him to similar Engagements and Embarrassments. Lord Keppel, when questioned in the House of Peers, respecting the Fact of Pigot's Appointment, felt so conscious of the Indefensibility of the Measure, that he did not dare to own it; but he contrived to evade the Enquiry, by stating the Want of Evidence before them, to prove the Nomination. It was impossible more clearly to avow how much he was ashamed of such a Transaction. The Opposition, during Lord North's Administration, in their Anxiety to decry the Earl of Sandwich, then First Lord of the Admiralty, asserted that Sir Edward Hughes was bound to divide with him, a certain Proportion of whatever Prize-Money he might acquire; as a Return for being appointed to the naval Command in the East Indies. "Junius" treats the Duke of Grafton, when First Minister, in various Letters, with Indignation, for having given a Pension of five Hundred Pounds a Year, to Sir John Moore, whom he designates as a "Broken Gambler." Nor does he hesitate to add, that the Pension was "probably an Acquittance on the Part of the Duke, of Favors upon the Turf." But, how infinitely less culpable were Lord Sand-

wich, or the Duke of Grafton, had the Allegations been ever so clearly proved, than was Fox, if we assume the Truth of the Fact imputed to him, in acquitting his Debt to Pigot, by sending him out to the West Indies?

Rodney's Victory, if it had taken place two Months earlier, would probably have operated to retard, or altogether to prevent, Lord North's Resignation. Nor did any Man doubt, that the Admiral himself would have received more distinguishing Marks of Ministerial Gratitude, as well as of royal Bounty, if Lord North had continued at the Head of Affairs, than were conferred on him by that Nobleman's Successors. Lord Howe and Admiral Keppel had just been raised by their Party, to the Dignity of English *Viscounts*; without the Performance of any naval Service on the Part of the latter Officer. Many Persons thought that an *Earldom* would not have constituted a Reward too eminent for so important a Victory. We have seen that high Rank of the Peerage conferred since on Sir John Jervis, for the Battle gained over the Spaniards, off Cape St. Vincent's; a Victory, as was com-

monly reported, principally due to Sir Horatio Nelson. Lord Duncan, Lord Hood, and Lord Bridport, have all been created for their Exploits, English *Viscounts*. It was not without evident Marks of Unwillingness, that a *Barony*, and a Pension of two Thousand Pounds per Annum, were rather extorted from, than spontaneously given by, the Ministry, to Rodney; accompanied with his immediate Supersession in the Command of the Fleet. It must however be admitted on the other Hand, that previous to the Time of which I am now writing, the most distinguished naval Services rarely conducted to the Peerage, Anson, it is true, from a Concurrence of Circumstances, was raised to it: but, neither Saunders, nor Boscawen, nor Pocock, attained to that Honor. Even Hawke, far from being called up to the House of Peers, after he had destroyed the Fleet of France in 1759, at the Mouth of the Loire, was only made a *Baron* by Lord North, near seventeen Years afterwards; and then, in Company with several other Individuals who were raised to the same Dignity. It is for Posterity to judge how far these Circumstances may form some Excuse, for the ap-

parent Want of **Liberality** towards a Man, who had rendered so critical, as well as so distinguished, a Service to his Country.

[22nd May.] No sooner had the House of Commons assembled, after the Adjournment of a few Days which followed Sawbridge's Motion, than the Secretary of State rising, moved the Thanks of the House to Sir George Rodney, for his late glorious Victory; of which Event he spoke in the warmest Terms of grateful Admiration, though conscious that the triumphant Commander who had atchieved it, was already superseded by him, in Order to make way for Pigot. Such Acts of ministerial or political Inconsistency, never indeed appeared to cost Fox any Effort, as he covered them under the Blaze of Sophistry, Eloquence, and Talent. On this Occasion, he must nevertheless have felt how contradictory was his Conduct, in praising, rewarding, and recalling the same Man, at one and the same Time. Lord North, who ever since the 20th Day of March, seemed to have remained in a Sort of Stupor; now coming forward spontaneously, joined in the Tribute due to Rodney for a Victory, which, he said, was

not only the greatest gained in the Course of the present War, but, perhaps, the most complete of any recorded in the naval Annals of England. Unquestionably, the late First Minister derived a Pride and a Confidence from the same Event, which involved the new Cabinet in proportionate Embarrassment. After dwelling for a few Minutes, on the brilliant Service just rendered, Lord North concluded by remarking, that it would be proper to extend the Thanks of the House, to the Flag Officers of the Fleet, who had merited so well of their Country. To this Proposition Fox instantly assented, with many Acknowledgements to the noble Mover for the Suggestion; and for the first Time since Lord North's Resignation, some Expressions of Courtesy and Respect fell from the Lips of the Secretary of State, addressed to a Person whom he had hitherto only loaded with Accusations. So much had the unexpected Intelligence just arrived, already mollified the Asperity of the new Administration towards their Predecessors! Mr. Rolle, then Member for the County of Devon, and since raised to the Peerage, having asked if it was true that Sir George Rodney was about to be superseded in his

Command; Fox replied that he was already recalled, and another Officer sent out to succeed him. Such an Act, even if Rodney had not performed so recent, and so splendid a Service, could scarcely be justified, either on public, or on private Grounds: but, taking Place instantly after a Victory so eminent, it excited general Condemnation.

Impressed with that Sentiment, Rolle rose a second Time, and stated his Determination to move an Address to His Majesty, that he would be pleased not to remove the Admiral from his present Situation. Had such a Motion been actually submitted to the House, it is by no means improbable, the new Ministry might have been left in a Minority: but, Dundas extricated Fox from a Dilemma, to which even *his* pre-eminent Ability might have proved inadequate without Assistance. The Lord Advocate observed that such a Proceeding would intrench on the Prerogative of the Crown, and at the same Time violate the Rules by which Parliament was accustomed to regulate its Conduct; as the Responsibility of Ministers must be removed from their own Shoulders, to those of the House of Commons. “No Individual,” he

added, “ could entertain higher Feelings of
“ Gratitude towards the gallant Commander
“ in Question, than he did ; but, a para-
“ mount Regard to the Constitution, im-
“ pelled him to oppose the Proposition.”
Rolle then dropping his first Intention, de-
clared that he would nevertheless move an
Address to the King, to bestow some Mark
of royal Favor on the Admiral. Here, how-
ever, he was once more stopped by Dundas,
who said that a Motion of such a Nature,
would be in Fact dictating to the Sovereign,
in whom alone was constitutionally vested
the Power of conferring Rewards or Graces :
adding, that it was to be presumed, the Ser-
vants of the Crown would offer such Advice
to their Prince on the present Occasion, as it
was worthy of him to pursue. Fox became
now as profuse in his Expressions of Ac-
knowledgement to the Lord Advocate, as he
had previously been to Lord North. In
Dundas’s Doctrine he said, he fully con-
curred ; and with the Decision of Tone and
Character natural to him, he protested that
no Man or Men, short of the Majority of the
House, should ever induce or compel him
to explain on what Grounds one Officer was
recalled, or another appointed. It was a

royal Prerogative, which he would not allow to be either abridged or controled. “ For,” concluded he, “ though I am an Enemy to “ the Influence of the Crown, I will always “ support its just Prerogative.”

Whether the Motives by which Mr. Dundas was actuated in thus extending such opportune Support to Administration, were the only Springs of his Conduct ; or whether any less obvious Reasons prompted him to stand forward, and to extend a Sort of Shield over them ; must be left to Conjecture. Certainly, the Service rendered, was one of no ordinary Description. But, Governor Johnstone, though he did not attempt to contravert the Lord Advocate’s Assertions ; yet, after expressing his Sense of the glorious Atchievement just performed in the West Indies, added, “ I could have desired “ that the Thanks of this House should have “ been moved from some other Quarter, not “ from the Ministers, who have just disgraced Sir George Rodney, by recalling “ him.”——“ The Secretary of State tells “ us that Unanimity reigns throughout the “ Fleet. And is that a Reason for superseding the gallant Commander, and tear-

“ing him from the Men whom he has so
“often conducted to Victory? Under such
“Circumstances, the very Thanks of this
“Assembly become an Insult, when accom-
“panied by his Supersession.” Almost any
other Minister than Fox, would have been
embarrassed under such a Charge, nor was
even He altogether without evident Discom-
posure. As however he never abandoned a
Friend or a Measure, because the one was
in Distress, or the other unpopular; as he
always trusted to his own Powers of Mind
for Extrication; and the Determination to
send out Pigot, having been taken; he un-
dertook to defend it. His Speech neverthe-
less formed a Mass of contradictory Matter.
He began by denying in the strongest Terms,
that *Recall* and *Disgrace* had in them any
Species of Alliance. If he had entertained
any Prejudices against the gallant Admiral,
for his Conduct at St. Eustatius, he said;
the recent Victory had obliterated them. On
Johnstone he pressed with great Severity, for
preventing the Unanimity of the House: but,
the Governor, whose Tenacity in maintaining
whatever Proposition he embraced, equalled
that of the Secretary; rose to reply. The
Discussion might even have assumed a new

Form, if Cornwall, the Speaker, interposing from the Chair, had not for the third Time in the same Day, come to the Aid of Administration, by calling Johnstone to Order. No further Impediment being presented, the Thanks were voted, and the House adjourned; Fox having exhibited a strong Proof of his ministerial Ascendancy over the Assembly, though undoubtedly in Contradiction to the Opinion of a great Majority of the Members present on the Occasion.

[23d—30th May.] The public Dissatisfaction nevertheless being loudly and generally expressed in every Corner of London, at the Recall of Sir George Rodney, Mr. Rolle brought forward the Subject a second Time, to Parliamentary Notice. He observed, that to supersede an Admiral in the Moment of Victory, was in itself an impolitic Measure; but, to send out as his Successor, a Man who for near twenty Years had not once been at Sea, and who had never performed in the whole Course of his professional Life, any distinguished naval Service, constituted an Act most unwise and censurable. Rosewarne, Member for Truro, remarked, that the present Ministers were now committing,

against the general Sense of the Country, the very Act which they so violently reprobated in their Predecessors ; namely, driving from the Navy, the most able and distinguished Officers. “ The Earl of Sandwich,” added he, “ has been denominated by the Secretary of State, in former Debates, a Minister “ of the King of France. He has approved “ himself a bad Minister to his Employer, “ since he has confessedly sent out to the “ West Indies, one of the best appointed “ Fleets which ever quitted the Ports of “ England.” I spoke, myself, on the same Side, in that Debate, and ventured to assert that the only similar Case occurring in our Annals, presented itself under Queen Anne, when the great Duke of Marlborough, in the midst of his Triumphs, was recalled, in Order to make way for the Duke of Ormond. Nor did I hesitate to declare my Conviction that the Victory just gained, though perhaps less complete than the Defeat of Conflans by Admiral Hawke in 1759 ; yet, under the Circumstances of the Moment, might justly be accounted superior in its Effects, to that, or to any Atchievement in our naval Records. Upon what Principle then could Admirals Howe and Keppel have been

created *Viscounts*, while only the Dignity of a *Baron* was conferred on the Man, who had performed so transcendent a Service? Lord North, though he said he wished to decline giving any Opinion on the recent Supersession, and the new Appointment, characterized it nevertheless as a hasty Measure. “If,” continued he, “a similar Act had been committed under the late Administration, I should have been attacked without Mercy from every Quarter. Yet, though I do not approve the Nomination of Admiral Pigot, I value the Unanimity of the Fleet so highly, that I should be reluctant to send out any Resolution, which might convey a Censure upon his Appointment. Unanimity, both at home and abroad, are indispensable; and though *I* was made a personal Sacrifice to obtaining it, I shall rejoice if the present Ministers experience it in its utmost Extent.”

These Sentiments, however elevated or patriotic they may seem, were by no means received on the Part of the Secretary of State, either with Gratitude, or even with Satisfaction. On the contrary, after questioning the Sincerity of Lord North in his

Expressions of Cordiality, and his pretended Wishes to preserve Unanimity among the Officers and Seamen of the Fleet; he observed, that unless the Motion, which criminated Ministers for recalling Sir George Rodney, was to be followed by another, for their Removal, the first would be nugatory. “ Did the noble Lord,” he demanded, “ mean “ to go that Length? And if such was his “ Intention, why did he not speak out?” Of Pigot, the Secretary expressed himself in Language of great Encomium, as being every way qualified to succeed Rodney. “ The Crime that he had committed in the “ Eyes of the late Ministers, lay in his Name “ being found in a certain *Paper*, together “ with those of various other Admirals, de- “ precating the Trial of Keppel.” Relative to Lord Rodney, he appeared to labour under no small Embarrassment, and to involve himself in much Contradiction. The Victory just gained, Fox admitted to be brilliant; but, his Conduct at St. Eustatius, had produced Prejudices against him. “ I am “ ready,” added he, “ to balance his Victory “ against his Demerits, and to bury in Oblivion all Enquiry respecting his past Conduct, unless the intemperate Zeal of the “ Admiral’s Friends, shall provoke me to

“ adopt another Line of Conduct.” He concluded by rather insinuating than asserting, that if a *Baron* was not considered a Rank of the Peerage sufficiently elevated for Rodney’s Services, no Objection would be made to conferring on him a higher Title.

If the Secretary expected by the Style and Tone of his Reply, to intimidate or to silence his Adversaries on that Day, the Event did not justify his Assumption. Lord North, after animadverting with some Wit, on various Parts of the preceding Speech, denied the Assertions made respecting Pigot. The late Admiralty, he observed, had offered him a Command, which he thought proper to decline. But, as Rodney had constantly refused to sign the *Paper* in Question, might not his Recall arise from that very Circumstance? “ Had His Majesty’s Ministers, of whom I formed a Member,” continued he, “ recalled a great and illustrious Officer in the Moment of Victory, we should have been assailed with Motion after Motion in this House.” Severe as Lord North might seem in these Remarks, Johnstone far exceeded him. There existed indeed between the Governor and the Secretary of State, a

Degree of personal Ill-will approaching to Enmity; the latter always affecting to regard Johnstone as an Apostate or a Deserter; he having, some Years earlier, left the Ranks of Opposition, and joined the Administration, by whom he had been employed, both as a Negotiator, and in the Line of his Profession. Johnstone in Retaliation, treated Fox as factious, and as sacrificing every Consideration to Party, or to private Views of Ambition. Starting up as soon as Lord North had finished, "Now," exclaimed he, "I am perfectly satisfied with the Supersession of my noble Friend. The Right Honourable Secretary holds him up as a Delinquent. If he be such, unquestionably he ought to be recalled. I now rejoice, as much as I was previously shocked, at this Treatment:—for, now an Opportunity will be afforded him to clear his Character from the Aspersions of his Enemies. Charges brought against him by Jews and Traitors! Charges which he will refute with Ease; and of which Fact I can speak with Certainty, having perused many Parts of my noble Friend's Defence."—"The Secretary of State proposes to compromise the Charge, and to bury it in an *Earldom*. But, I scorn such a Proposal, and in my

“ Friend’s Name I protest against Honors,
“ which are to be purchased by such a Com-
“ promise. Honors and Titles can never
“ sit easy on a Delinquent.”

After thus exhaling his Resentment, he then entered on the Particulars of the Action fought on the 12th of April, as well as on other Parts of Lord Rodney’s naval Exploits: but, as Lord North, though he highly disapproved the Recall of that illustrious Commander, did not desire to push Matters to a Question, no Division took Place. Ministers remained Masters of the Field: not however without suffering in public Opinion, which censured them in the strongest Terms. An Attempt, made by Sir Francis Basset, now Lord de Dunstanville, only a few Days afterwards, to procure for Lord Rodney, a Provision of four Thousand Pounds a Year from the Crown, underwent the same Fate as Mr. Rolle’s Motion: Fox parried it in a similar Manner. A *Barony*, with *half* the annual Sum proposed by Basset, was ultimately conferred on him. He returned home, and Pigot assumed the Command of the victorious Fleet: but, I believe, in the Course of six or seven Months that he retained it, he never captured any Vessel of

the Enemy, except a Spanish Polacre, nor performed any other eminent Service. All the deserved Popularity, which Fox—for, He only was regarded as directing the Cabinet;—had obtained by the Measures embraced relative to arming the People, and for conciliating Ireland; was more than counterbalanced by the Selection of Pigot to replace Rodney. If the Marquis of Rockingham approved so hasty an Act, he must be esteemed a weak, or an ill-advised Minister. If he reflectively allowed the Secretary of State to sacrifice the public Interest, to his own personal Predilections or Objects, he was a highly culpable Minister. I am not sufficiently informed on the Point, to venture on hazarding any Opinion. Posterity, better instructed, may perhaps decide upon it. Fox unquestionably lost the finest Occasion which Fortune could have presented him, for acquiring general Applause and Admiration, by continuing Rodney in the Command, after Intelligence had arrived of the glorious Result of the 12th of April.

[June.] While the Victory obtained over de Grasse, produced so vast and beneficial an Alteration in the Affairs of Great Britain beyond the Atlantic; Time seemed rapidly

maturing another important Change, or rather Convulsion, in the domestic Concerns of the Kingdom. From the first Formation of the new Cabinet, its jarring Materials indicated, in the Opinions of all discerning Men, their speedy Disunion and Separation. Fox, conscious of the Alienation in which the King held him, morally, as well as politically, possessed too much Penetration not to foresee, and to predict, an approaching Change of Administration. He was not without Difficulty restrained from precipitating it, by his open Disapprobation of the intended, or imputed Measures, of some of his Colleagues. The stern Inflexibility of Lord Thurlow, likewise, who as Chancellor, thwarted and opposed, in the House of Peers, many of his Measures, greatly irritated him. Already Fox began to alter his Language, when speaking of that Nobleman; on whom, while a Member of the late Cabinet, he had lavished so many Encomiums at the Expence of his Colleagues in the Administration. Nor did the Preference shewn towards Lord Shelburne, on all Occasions, by his Majesty, tend less to accelerate a Rupture. In this Situation of Things, the Decline of the Marquis of Rockingham's

Health, by incapacitating him to take as active a Part in public Affairs as he had previously done, removed the only remaining serious Impediment: while it facilitated the Accomplishment of those Objects, which Prudence and Precaution alone had hitherto compelled the Sovereign to delay, till the Arrival of a favourable Opportunity.

[1—20th June.] Hitherto during the Course of nearly two Sessions, Fox and Pitt had almost invariably coincided upon every Point submitted to Parliamentary Discussion: but, the Term of their apparent political Union now approached. Lord Mahon, who, by his first Marriage stood in the near Relation of a Brother in Law to Mr. Pitt, was then one of the Representatives for Wycombe. His ardent, zealous, and impetuous Mind, tinged with deep Shades of Republicanism and Eccentricity, which extended even to his Dress and Manners; was equally marked by a bold Originality of Character, very enlightened Views of the public Welfare or Amelioration, inflexible Pertinacity, and a steady Uprightness of Intention. This Nobleman, who was at that Time about twenty-nine Years of Age, having introduced a Bill into

the House, for the Prevention of Expence and Bribery at Elections, Powis strongly opposed it. Pitt replied to him; denying that the Regulations proposed, would constitute any Innovation on the British Constitution, which, on the contrary, they were calculated to renovate and restore. Mr. Secretary Fox took the contrary Side, and in a Speech of great Ability, after many flattering Compliments to his honorable *Friend*, maintained nevertheless that the Principles of the Bill had not been fairly stated by him. “ On all Questions or Points which had for “ their Object to effect an equal Representa- “ tion,” he said, “ Mr. Pitt might rely on his “ firmest Concurrence and Support. There, “ they never could disagree: but, on the pre- “ sent Subject, their Opinions differed, and he “ had stated with much Deference the Rea- “ sons of his Dissent.” Pitt did not meet these Expressions of friendly Respect, with all the Cordiality or Suavity that might have been expected. He was indeed lavish of his Encomiums on the splendid Display of Eloquence made by the Secretary of State; which, he observed, impressed him with deeper Admiration, because, instead of overturning the Arguments which he had, him-

self used, it on the contrary supported them. The House dividing, Lord Mahon's Bill was carried by a Majority of only one; and being again resumed three Days afterwards, the Discussion was renewed between Pitt and Fox; not, indeed, with any Asperity or Personality, but, with much Pertinacity. Sheridan joined in the Debate, taking Part against one of the most important Clauses; which being rejected by sixty-six Votes, opposed to twenty-six, Lord Mahon immediately declared that he would proceed no further in the Measure. It would not, indeed, of itself have excited much Attention, if it had not elicited the first Sparks of Disagreement between two Persons, who attracted so great a Share of national Consideration.

[22d—30th June.] One of the last important or interesting Discussions, which took Place in the House of Commons, previous to the Marquis of Rockingham's Decease, owed its Existence to the Attorney General. That intrepid and upright Lawyer, acting without any Concert whatever, uncertain of Support from any Quarter, but, impelled by his deep Sense of public Justice, and of private Rectitude; brought forward

to Parliamentary Notice, the Question relative to the Balances of Money remaining in the Hands of public Accountants. The Enquiry being levelled principally, though not solely, against Rigby, who, as late as the Month of May, 1781, held no less a Balance in his Possession, than Eleven Hundred Thousand Pounds; he, apprehensive of some prompt or efficacious Resolution being adopted, which might subject him to Difficulties of a pecuniary Nature, procured by personal Applications, a very numerous Attendance. I have rarely witnessed so many Members present in their Places, at so advanced a Period of the Session. To this Circumstance Kenyon alluded, when he rose to make his Propositions, observing that it gave him Pleasure to see so full a House on such an Occasion. With stern Severity of Voice and Manner, he declared that only a strong Sentiment of Duty actuated him. "Party Views," added he, "I have
" none, nor have I consulted any Individual
" whatever, on the Nature and Propriety
" of the Motions that I am about to make.
" Nay, I am ignorant whether any Member
" of the House will second them: but, my
" Determination to propose them remains
" unalterable." It must be confessed that

such an Attorney General does not arise frequently, nor could a Man of so independent a Mind be acceptable to any, except Ministers of the most elevated and incorrupt Description. Having stated that his Object was to compel the Payment of the Balances due to the Public, who, he said, had a Right to the Issues and Profits of their own Money; he added, that if he should be defeated in that House, the Courts of Law would still remain open to him, where he might bring the Question to a legal Decision. He concluded by moving various Resolutions, one of which declared that “ Rigby and Welbore Ellis, were both accountable for the Interest received by them, of the Balances that respectively remained in their Hands, from the Day of their quitting their late Offices.”

No sooner had Kenyon finished, than Fox presented himself to Notice; and after acknowledging that his learned *Friend* had not consulted *Him* on the Business just opened, he contested with much Warmth, and equal Ingenuity, the Attorney General's Proposition. It might, he admitted, be Law; but, it did not appear to him, to be common Sense:—an Assertion which

he endeavoured to elucidate, as well as to prove, by pointing out the essential Difference between a Guardian, who is bound to place the Money of his Ward in a State to yield *Interest*; and a public Accountant, who is only held responsible for the *Capital* advanced to him for public Purposes. I must confess that this Doctrine appeared to me to be sound, and by no means inconsistent with the immutable Principles of Justice: but, from the Lips of the Secretary of State, it came with a bad Grace; his Father, Lord Holland, standing in the same Position as Rigby; being accused by the public Voice, though perhaps unjustly, as a great Defaulter; and his Executors never having, down to that Day, been able to obtain his *Quietus* from the Exchequer. Yet Lord Holland had quitted the Pay Office more than seventeen Years, when Kenyon agitated the Question then before the House, during all which Time the Public derived no Benefit from the Balances remaining due from that Nobleman's Estate.

Governor Johnstone, who never lost any Opportunity of attacking Fox; though he disapproved of Kenyon's Motion; yet contrived to wound the Secretary in a tender

Part. “Why,” he demanded, “should the
“Executors of Lord Holland be allowed
“many Years for paying in his Balances, if
“Rigby and Ellis were to be compelled to
“make a similar Payment, within the short
“Space of two Months?—As to myself,”
continued he, “my Reason for attending
“in my Place to-day, was not with a Design
“of supporting any particular Cause; but,
“merely from Curiosity, in order to observe
“what Part the Right Honorable Secre-
“tary would take on a Question, where he
“is himself so personally concerned.” Ne-
vertheless, Lord North coinciding perfectly
with Fox, in the Doctrines that he had laid
down, and pronouncing them to be *ortho-*
dox;—Wallace, the late Attorney General,
declaring that in his Opinion, the Public
had no Right whatever, to demand any In-
terest on the Money lying in the Hands of
great national Accountants; an Opinion
which he sustained by strong Reasoning;
—Powis agreeing in the Justice, as well as
in the Solidity, of Fox’s Observations; and
the Chancellor of the Exchequer supporting
the same Arguments;—under these Cir-
cumstances, Kenyon consented to withdraw
the obnoxious Resolution. Having however

substituted in its Place, a Motion for Leave to bring in a Bill, to enable the Exchequer to receive the Balances due from Rigby and Ellis, he was again opposed, and on a Division, left in a Minority of Eleven. The Secretary of State, as well as the other Members of Administration, supported and voted with Kenyon, though probably Fox was by no means displeased at the Result of the Day.

No rational Doubt can exist, that even if Death had not carried off the Marquis of Rockingham, yet a Change in the Administration would equally have taken Place, nearly at the same Time, and in the same Manner, as it was afterwards effected. The Necessity of making such Arrangements as might, it was hoped, secure its Duration, and enable Lord Shelburne to surmount the Opposition to be expected in Parliament, had solely prevented him hitherto from accepting the Place of First Lord of the Treasury. But, as the Session drew towards its Close, that Difficulty gradually ceased; while the Period which must of course elapse between the Prorogation and the subsequent Meeting, would afford, in all Probability, if

well improved, various Means of strengthening the new Ministry. Lord Shelburne had already made Advances to, and had sounded Mr. Pitt. His Talents, Eloquence, and Popularity, sustained by his illustrious Name, rendered him, notwithstanding his Youth, capable of being successfully opposed to Fox, in the House of Commons. His Ambition, which had impelled him to disdain, and to reject, a secondary Place under the existing Administration, pointed out to Lord Shelburne the obvious Bait, by which he might be induced to lend his powerful Support; namely, a Cabinet Office. The Decorum and Regularity of his private Life, altogether untinctured with the Vices of Fox's Character, gave him a vast Superiority, in the Estimation of all those who considered correct moral Deportment as indispensable to a Man placed in public Situation. In the Contemplation of these Circumstances, and with these Intentions, it is well known that the King had fully determined to displace such Members of the Cabinet as constituted the Rockingham Party; and to transfer the Management of the Treasury to the Earl of Shelburne. The Lapse of a few Days, would perhaps have disclosed and produced this

important Event, when the Decease of the First Minister spared His Majesty the Necessity of dismissing him from his Post.

[1st of July.] Lord Rockingham, though hardly fifty-two Years of Age, already sunk under an infirm and debilitated Constitution. A Decay, to which was added a slow Fever, or as it was denominated, *Influenza*, a Species of epidemic Distemper, had for some Time undermined his Strength, without appearing to menace his immediate Dissolution. He was in his Place in the House of Peers, for the last Time, on the 3d of June, where he both spoke and voted in Support of Mr. Crewe's Bill, for depriving Revenue Officers of their Vote in Elections. But, when he rose to address the House, he declared that he felt himself so severely indisposed, as to be almost incapable of uttering a Word. He even made use of a singular Expression;—for he added, “the Disorder universally prevalent, afflicts me so violently, that at Times I am not completely in Possession of myself.” His Speech nevertheless displayed no Defect of Mind. Soon after the King's Birth-day, having quitted Grosvenor-Square, he retired to Roehampton, where

his Recovery was confidently expected by his Friends, and even predicted by his medical Attendants. Indeed, neither Fox nor Burke seem to have been prepared for his Decease; though the former, with the manly, but imprudent Decision that marked his political Character, instantly determined either to keep Possession of the Treasury by Proxy, or to resign his Office. Burke, though he personally detested Lord Shelburne, yet would, I believe, have gladly retained his Situation, under a new First Minister of the King's Election: but, he could not separate himself from Fox. On that Day, they held a long Conversation, evidently of the most interesting and serious Description, in the Court of Requests, where they continued walking backwards and forwards, long after the Speaker had taken the Chair. At length they both repaired to the House, where the Marquis's Death being announced, warm Eulogiums were conferred on his Memory, from various Quarters. Frederic Montagu, himself a Man of distinguished Probity, when mentioning Lord Rockingham, said, "Such was my Opinion of his Integrity of Heart, and Firmness of Mind in resisting every Act that ought to

“ be resisted, as to make his Concurrence or
“ Approbation sufficient to sanctify in my
“ Judgment, almost any Measure.” “ He
“ was,” observed Fox, “ an Honor to his
“ Country, and an Ornament to human Na-
“ ture. Others, I admit, may have possessed
“ more brilliant Talents; but I know of
“ none who more truly loved his Country,
“ or who displayed in a more eminent De-
“ gree, that extraordinary Combination of
“ Firmness of Mind, with Softness of Man-
“ ners, by which he was peculiarly charac-
“ terized.” “ Well may I be excused,” ex-
claimed Burke, “ for mingling my Tears
“ with those of all Ranks and Descriptions
“ of Men, for the inestimable Loss which
“ we have sustained by the Death of this
“ most excellent and virtuous Character!
“ He is gone to appear before that Tribunal
“ where we must all render an Account of
“ our Actions; and I believe, no Soul ever
“ went with a greater and better founded
“ Certainty of Approbation.” These En-
comiums may have been merited, as paid to
his moral Worth and steady Rectitude of
Intention: but, we must remember by whom,
and when, they were uttered. Fox, Burke,
and Montagu, all relapsed into a compara-

tive Obscurity, by his Death. History will speak of him with more Moderation. An amiable and a respectable Individual, rather than a superior Man, Nature had not designed him to be the First Minister of a great Country. *Junius* well characterizes his Formation of Mind, when he speaks of “the mild, but determined Integrity of Lord “Rockingham.” Yet was there, as that Writer elsewhere observes, a Degree of “Debility” in his Virtue : but, the Moderation of his Character tempered the Ardor of Fox, and imposed Limits on Burke’s Enthusiasm.

The State of his Frame and Health, which, even in his Youth had never been robust ; and both which were believed to have suffered severely in Consequence of some imprudent Gallantries, while pursuing his Travels in the South of Italy, at an early Period of his Life ; incapacitated him for close or continued Application, during the short Period of his Administration. The Princess of Franca Villa was commonly supposed to have bestowed on him the same fatal Present, which the “Belle Ferroniere” conferred on Francis the First, King of France ; and

which, as we learn from *Burnet*, the Countess of Southesk was said to have entailed on James, Duke of York, afterwards James the Second. That Princess was still living when I visited Naples, in the Year 1779; and Sir William Hamilton assured me, that she always expressed the utmost Concern for the unintentional Misfortune, which the Marquis's Attachment for her had produced, as well as for its supposed Results. Leaving no Issue, the greater Part of his vast landed Property, as well as his Borough Interests, descended to his Nephew, Earl Fitzwilliam. In Lord Rockingham's Person too, became extinct the Title and Dignity of a British *Marquis*; he being the sole Individual in the Kingdom who then possessed that high Rank; to which Mr. Pitt has since elevated during his Administration, eleven Individuals; besides creating nine *Irish* Marquises, where there did not previously exist one Peer of that Order. Such has been the prodigious Encrease of Peerages, during the present Reign! Unquestionably, Mr. Pitt, in thus augmenting the Numbers of the House of Lords, was not animated by the same Intention as the Romans attributed to the First of the Cæsars, when he encreased the Senate

to nine hundred ; or as Suetonius expresses it, “ *Senatum supplevit.*” But, it will be nevertheless for our Descendants to decide, how far he has practically produced a similar Effect on the Constitution of Great Britain, with the pernicious Consequence which flowed from the Augmentation of the Roman Senate by Cæsar.

[2d—8th July.] However deeply sensible Fox might be to Lord Rockingham’s Death, and whatever Steps he probably contemplated as the natural Results of such a Blow, he was not so precipitate as to give in his immediate Resignation. He remained a Member of the Cabinet for several Days after it took Place, and on the 2d of the Month, he spoke, (for the last Time indeed,) as Secretary of State, from the Treasury Bench. A Bill for the Regulation of Appointments in the West Indies and America, being then in its Progress through the House ; it was opposed by Sir George Savile, on a Principle of jealous Apprehension that we might attempt again to legislate for the Colonies, thereby re-asserting a Supremacy over them. Lord Shelburne having introduced the Bill into the upper House, who

was well known to be very averse to the Declaration of American Independence, that Circumstance excited still greater Alarm. The Attorney General, with the Warmth characteristic of all he said or did, endeavoured to allay Sir George's Fears. "The Wisdom, Probity, Disinterestedness, and honorable Intentions of that noble Person," Kenyon observed, "stood so firmly established in the public Opinion, that he trusted, no Man would venture to reject the Motives which had animated him in bringing forward such a Measure." But, Sir George Savile remaining inflexible, Fox rose, and expressed his Astonishment at the Incredulity manifested on the Subject. "While the present Ministers enjoyed their Sovereign's Confidence, no Idea," he asserted, "could ever exist of coercing America, or of renewing the System so strongly reprobated by that House. He could not speak peremptorily for every Member of the Cabinet; but he protested, that he would not, himself, remain one Minute in Administration, after he should discover an Intention of bringing back the Colonies to Obedience, either by Force, or by Negotiation." Fox even proceeded to prove

that, however reluctant the Nobleman in Question might have been in Times past, to the Acknowledgement of American Independence; yet, a wholesome and salutary Revolution had taken Place in his Principles, from the Operation of Events, and of an overpowering Necessity. To these Assurances and Expostulations, which were reiterated by General Conway, Sir George Savile at length gave way: but, the Event proved either that Fox was mistaken, or that Lord Shelburne exhibited a Reluctance to concede American Independence, which he afterwards renounced, when Fox had quitted the Cabinet. Instead of throwing up his Place in Administration, on a bare Suspicion or Belief of Lord Shelburne's Intentions; he ought, (as Pitt told him, a few Days afterwards,) to have summoned a Cabinet Council, and there to have ascertained the Fact, before he proceeded to Extremities. But, Passion, Indignation, and disappointed Ambition, mastering his Reason, impelled him, regardless of the Consequences to himself and to his Friends, to retire, rather than submit to the new First Lord of the Treasury. Pitt, more calm and wise, took Fox's vacant Seat, though not his

Office, in the Cabinet: an Event which the Secretary of State ought to have foreseen, as more than possible; though probably, he was not prepared for it.

If Fox would have submitted to retain his Office as Secretary of State, under Lord Shelburne, after the Decease of the Marquis of Rockingham; it is not to be questioned that the King, whatever personal Objections or Dislike he might have felt towards him, would from prudential Motives, have allowed him to continue in the Cabinet. Nor can it admit of a Doubt, that Fox, by consenting to hold his own Situation, would have induced Lord John Cavendish, over whom he always exercised an unbounded Ascendant, to follow his Example. Burke, who manifested the greatest Reluctance to quit the Pay Office, required rather to be impelled in making that Sacrifice, than appeared to feel any spontaneous Disposition towards resigning so lucrative an Appointment, of which he had scarcely tasted the first Fruits. Fox's private Circumstances were moreover so desperate, as to dictate some Attention to them; and many of his Friends stood in a similar Predicament. He

did not affect to conceal his own Want of Fortune, even when addressing the House of Commons. Speaking of the Motives that impelled him to resign, and of their imperious Nature, which left him no Alternative except quitting Office; he added, “Moved
“ by these Considerations, though in Point
“ of Fortune, my Condition is not by any
“ Means enviable, I have relinquished the
“ Pomp, the Patronage, and the Emoluments
“ of Employment.—I confess candidly that
“ I have not quitted my Place without a
“ Pang. I am not such a Stoic, as to prefer
“ being neglected, rather than to be courted;
“ to prefer Poverty to Riches, Inconvenience
“ before Comfort, or Obscurity before Power
“ and Splendor.” It was difficult to designate more eloquently his Situation. These Expressions fell from him on the 9th of July, in the Progress of the interesting Discussion that took Place relative to Barré’s Pension. Burke, with less Dignity, deplored on the same Day, in the same Assembly, his Ejection from the Pay Office, and his Inability to despise the Favors of Fortune. “I have,” said he, “a Family,
“ and my Means are small. I like my Office.
“ The House, the Situation, and all its Ap-

“pendages, cannot be otherwise than pleasing to my Taste. All these Things I cannot relinquish without Regret:—for, the Welfare of my Family is most dear to me. Who can conceive that I would lightly sacrifice all these Things, and four Thousand Pounds a Year?—I have long been surfeited with Opposition, and those who know me well, will not denominate me factious.” These Lamentations remind us of Pomfret’s Poem, on Adam’s Expulsion from Paradise, beginning,

“And must I go, and must I be no more
“The Tenant of this happy Ground?”

Burke’s Condition was in every Point of View rendered more critical, in consequence of Lord Rockingham’s Decease. I have been assured, that Nobleman, by his last testamentary Dispositions, cancelled all the Money due to him by Mr. Burke, amounting to a considerable Sum: but, did not bequeath him any additional Legacy, or pecuniary Mark of Regard. It was added, that Burke by no means expressed himself satisfied with the Marquis’s Conduct towards him in this Respect. Certainly, some of his

Expressions relative to Lord Rockingham, in his Speech to which I have already alluded, were very singular, and might be regarded as equivocal. “Among the Encomiums due to that noble Person,” said he, “this was one; that he left his best and dearest Friends, with the simple Reward of his own invaluable Intimacy. This peculiar Test of their Sincerity, he demanded while alive; and it was a Tax which he imposed on their Regard for his Memory; when he was no more.” Do not these Words obscurely designate the Fact, that he received no Augmentation to his Fortune, by Lord Rockingham’s Will? Embarrassed, nevertheless, as were both his, and Fox’s private Affairs, the Resentment of the latter, at seeing the Helm of State transferred to Lord Shelburne, when added to his Knowledge of the secret Machinations which had preceded it, extinguished or superseded every other Sentiment in his Bosom. He peremptorily demanded, either that the Duke of Portland should be immediately recalled from Ireland, in order to be placed at the Head of the Treasury, as the Representative of the deceased Marquis, and the acknowledged Chief of the Whig Party; or he ten-

dered to his Majesty his own instant Resignation. His Offer was accepted; and that of Lord John Cavendish, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, accompanied it, at the same Time.

When, after the Lapse of five and thirty Years, we calmly examine the Motives by which Fox was actuated in thus throwing up his Office, we must admit that he consulted more his Passions, than his Reason; since he lay under no Necessity of sacrificing either his Country, or his Principles, to the Preservation of his Employment. Lord Shelburne's Insincerity or Duplicity could not operate to produce the public Ruin, except by the Measures, that, in his Capacity of first Minister, he might bring forward: and whatever Repugnance he might individually feel to grant the American Colonies unconditional Independence, yet the Majority of the Cabinet, after Fox's and Lord John Cavendish's Secession, compelled him ultimately to adopt that Principle. By retaining his Place under the new First Lord of the Treasury, Fox would therefore have secured his Adherence to the late Marquis's Plans: or, on his Departure from them, Fox would

have carried Parliament and the Country with him, by instantly refusing longer to co-operate with a Minister, who evaded or declined recognizing the Sovereignty of the thirteen States. Nor could Lord Keppel and the Duke of Richmond, have then separated themselves from him. If, instead of the violent Step that he took, he had acted with Temper, he would have advanced the Public Interests, while he consolidated his own Tenure of Office. The King and Lord Shelburne, however much they might have desired to dismiss him, could not have ventured on it, without a Pretence. Pitt might probably have become Secretary of State for the Home Department; and a very strong Government must have arisen, from which Lord North, as well as his Adherents, would have been altogether excluded. But, in order to have produced this Benefit to the State, it was necessary for Fox to begin by obtaining a Triumph over himself. He preferred more dictatorial Measures, which in the Course of a few Months, compelled him either to behold his Enemy confirmed in Power, after making Peace, while he himself and his Adherents remained on the Opposition Bench; or, regardless of Consequences,

to form a Junction with Lord North, and storm the Cabinet a second Time. Such were the injurious Results that flowed from his intemperate Precipitation.

Fox, in taking this decisive Step, probably flattered himself that it would have operated to a wider Extent, than actually happened. Though he could not rationally hope that either Lord Camden or the Duke of Grafton would resign; and though he ought not to have supposed that General Conway would lay down his Office; since not one of these Ministers depended on the late Marquis of Rockingham; yet he certainly calculated that his Uncle the Duke of Richmond, as well as Lord Keppel, would imitate his Example. In this Expectation, he was, however, disappointed. They both expressed, indeed, in the Upper House of Parliament, their great Regret at his Secession; but they declined following him out of the Cabinet, and stated the Motives for their Determination. It remained during some Time doubtful, whether Mr. Pitt would have been appointed one of the Secretaries of State, or placed in the Post of Chancellor of the Exchequer. The latter Employment was finally conferred on

him. Mr. Thomas Townsend succeeded Lord Shelburne in the Home Department; leaving the Post of Secretary at War to Sir George Yonge. The Foreign Office, vacated by Fox, was last filled up, and given to Lord Grantham. However inferior in Energy and Brilliancy of Intellect to his Predecessor, he possessed solid, though not eminent Parts; added to a Knowledge of foreign Affairs and of Europe, having resided several Years with great Reputation, as Ambassador at the Court of Madrid.

Two of the Lords of the Treasury followed Mr. Fox out of Office. One, Lord Althorpe, has since filled with Honor to himself, and Advantage to the Public, as Earl Spencer, a high Cabinet Office under Mr. Pitt's Administration. Frederick Montagu, the other, a Man equally respectable for Probity and for Talents, afterwards raised to the Dignity of a Privy Councillor; was a devoted Adherent of the Cavendish and Rockingham Interest. Mr. Richard Jackson, and Mr. Edward James Elliot, succeeded to these Vacancies. The former Gentleman, one of Lord Shelburne's intimate Friends, bred to the Bar, had obtained

from the Universality of his Information on all Topics, as I have already had Occasion to remark, the Appellation of “Omniscient Jackson.” Mr. Eliot afterwards married Lady Harriet Pitt, Sister of the Chancellor of the Exchequer; and his Father early in 1784, was created a Peer, while the new First Minister had still to contend against a Majority in the House of Commons. The remaining Member of the Treasury Board, Mr. James Grenville, whom we have likewise seen elevated by Mr. Pitt to the British Peerage, at a later Period of his Administration; did not think proper to imitate the Example of his Colleagues. Mr. Thomas Orde, who became one of the two Secretaries of the New Treasury; like Mr. Grenville, terminated his Career as a Commoner, on the very same Day, fifteen Years afterwards, by a Removal to the upper House of Parliament.

The Peerage formed, indeed, the Euthanasia, the natural Translation of all Mr. Pitt’s favourite Adherents, Friends, and Relations, either by Consanguinity, or by Alliance. It must be admitted that Mr. Orde had a double Pretension to it, from his Ser-

vices, and his matrimonial Connexion. While a Member of the House of Commons, he had distinguished himself by drawing up more than one of the most able Reports of the "Secret Committee," appointed to enquire into the Causes of the War in the Carnatic, of which Committee he was a leading Member. Mr. Dundas, the Chairman, when addressing the House, on the ninth of April, 1782; after paying him the highest Compliments for his Assiduity and Exertions in that Capacity, added, "Such, indeed, are the Talents which Mr. Orde has exhibited in the Business of Investigation, that no Minister who means to act honestly, can overlook him, or omit to employ his distinguished Abilities in the public Service." Great, however, as was the Testimony of the Lord Advocate, to his Merits, which I am not inclined to dispute, yet his best Claim consisted in having married the natural Daughter of Charles, Duke of Bolton; in Virtue of which Union, and from the Failure of male Issue in the Person of the succeeding Duke, Mr. Orde became eventually possessed of some of the finest Estates of that illustrious Family. The Title itself, diminished to a Barony, was revived in him, to-

gether with the Name of Powlett. Lord North remained an inactive, though not an unconcerned, or a silent Spectator, of this new Convulsion in the Councils of the Crown; which had so soon expelled from the Cabinet, one of the two Parties, by whom he was himself driven from Power. Of all those Individuals who had supported his Administration, or occupied any eminent Situation under it, only two quitted him, in order to be received into Lord Shelburne's Confidence and Ministry. The Lord Advocate of Scotland, Mr. Dundas, after eight Years Adherence, now abandoned altogether his ancient political Leader; and imitating the Precedent exhibited by Mr. Pitt, took Office, by accepting the Treasurership of the Navy. From this Period, those two eminent Men continued for the Remainder of their Lives, inseparable in good, as well as in adverse Fortune. Lord Mulgrave followed Dundas's Example. The Duke of Portland, who, as being devoted to the Rockingham Interest, and now placed ostensibly at its Head, adopted of Course Mr. Fox's Line of Conduct, was succeeded in the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland, by Earl Temple; a Nobleman of very considerable Talents, and

great Application to Business, though, we must admit, inferior in Energy of Mind and Character, to either of his Brothers.

[9th July.] The Interruption which so important a Change in the Government, occasioned in the ordinary Business of the House of Commons; prevented any Discussion from arising in that Assembly during some Days, relative to the Causes and Motives of Mr. Fox's Resignation. But, an Occasion soon presented itself, which enabled him to state all his Grievances, to unfold some Portion of the Mystery that pervaded his Conduct, and to bring forward the heaviest Charges against the new first Lord of the Treasury. A Pension of three thousand two hundred Pounds a Year, having been granted to Colonel Barré, by the Administration of which Lord Rockingham constituted the Head; and another very considerable Pension being given at the same Time, to Lord Ashburton, the two principal Friends of Lord Shelburne in both Houses of Parliament;—these Grants, the Consideration of which was unexpectedly brought forward, became severely arraigned. It seemed, indeed, impossible not to feel a Degree of As-

tonishment, at contemplating such profuse Donations of the public Money, made by Men who condemned Lord North's Want of Economy; who were with Difficulty induced to give a Pension of two thousand Pounds a Year to Lord Rodney, for having defeated the French Fleet, and saved Jamaica; who, themselves, had recently reduced the Household of the Sovereign; and who loudly asserted their personal Disinterestedness. Mr. Daniel Parker Coke, a Man who, like Kenyon, only took the Advice of his own upright and intelligent Mind, in all Cases of public or Parliamentary Duty; coming down to the House, without Concert of any Kind, moved for an Address, to request of His Majesty to declare, which of his Ministers had *dared* to recommend the Grant of the Pension in Question to Barré. The three Lords of the Treasury present, having all admitted that it was the Marquis of Rockingham's Act; and Frederic Montagu, one of the Number, not only justifying it, as a Remuneration merited by Barré for his long Services in that Assembly; but, adding, that all he regretted, was his not having signed a Warrant for a similar Sum, to another distinguished Servant of the Public, namely, Mr. Burke; Barré himself then rose. In a

Speech, well conceived, and delivered from the Treasury Bench, he detailed his military Sufferings and Renunciations, honorary, as well as pecuniary. The Post of Adjutant General, and the Government of Stirling Castle, both of which Offices had been conferred on him by the Crown, as a Reward for his Services under the immortal *Wolfe* in Canada; Posts, of which Officers were only deprived for military Offences;—he had sacrificed. “I was,” said he, “an Enemy to General Warrants. I voted against them in this House, and for this *political* Transgression, I was dismissed, the very next Day, from my *military* Employments.”—“I should now have been an old Lieutenant General. Had I been less a Friend to the Liberties of the People, my Income would have exceeded the Pension conferred on me. If, after such Sacrifices, I do not merit this Provision, let it be curtailed or annihilated.”

I confess that, though I felt no Predilection towards Barré, whose Manners, like his Figure, had in them something approaching to ferocious; yet, these Circumstances produced on my Mind, a Sentiment of Conviction or Approbation. But, Bamber

Gascoyne, who yielded to few Men in strong common Sense, which he expressed with Force and Freedom whenever he mixed in Debate; attacked both the Grant and the Administration, with great Vivacity. While he candidly admitted the Deserts of the Person on whom this Mark of royal and public Bounty had been conferred, he loudly inveighed against such Profusion on the Part of Men, who, while out of Office, had condemned the late Ministers for making similar Remunerations; and who, since they had been, themselves, in Power, though only for a few Weeks, had practised all the Faults that they previously reprehended. “ The
“ People,” exclaimed he, “ will soon know
“ how to form a just Estimate of them. They
“ declare that their Predecessors have left
“ the Exchequer empty, and the Finances
“ exhausted. Yet they heap new Burthens
“ upon us. They accused the last Cabinet,
“ of Want of Unanimity. But, what is the
“ State of the present Cabinet? Is there any
“ Union of Opinion there? Yet, His Ma-
“ jesty’s late Servants have not made the
“ slightest Attempt to impede their Mea-
“ sures or Negotiations. This Discord is
“ the more culpable and dangerous at the

“ present Moment, when the combined Na-
“ vies, superior to our own Fleet under Lord
“ Howe’s Command, are perhaps upon our
“ Coasts. A Lord of the Treasury ex-
“ presses his Concern, at not having signed a
“ Warrant for a Pension to another Honor-
“ able Member, whose Talents and Merits,
“ I own to be most eminent. Why, Mr.
“ Speaker, I have served the Public for
“ twenty Years, and I have got no Pension !
“ If such large pecuniary Compensations are
“ to be given to every Individual of conspi-
“ cuous Desert, where is the Financier who
“ who can provide Funds adequate to the
“ Demand ?”

Under Accusations so severe, as well as just, the late Secretary of State could not remain silent, even had he so inclined. Having resigned his Office four Days previous to the Discussion then agitated, he had relapsed into a private Member of Parliament ; and as such, had resumed his ancient Seat on the Opposition Side of the House, as well as his former *Costume*. Lord John Cavendish and Burke were likewise seated near him, as they had been previous to the Change of Administration. So soon did Fox find

himself restored to his former Position in that Assembly. Below him sate Lord North; and this Approximation, the first that took Place between them, led the Way to a closer Connexion in the Course of a short Space of Time. No Man could contemplate the late Premier, now reduced, like Fox, to a simple Individual; the one of whom, four Months earlier, occupied the first Place in the Cabinet, while the other had only just resigned the Seals of his Department; without making some Reflections on the Mutability of human Greatness. It might have afforded a salutary Lesson to Ambition, if any Lessons or Examples could serve as Checks on that Passion. Fox rising, and directing his Discourse not less to Bamber Gascoyne, than to Mr. Coke, admitted that the deceased Marquis, his Friend, had concurred in recommending the Pensions conferred on Lord Ashburton, and on Barré: but, he entreated the House to observe, that while Lord Shelburne's Adherents received such distinguishing Marks of the Bounty of the Crown; the Followers of Lord Rockingham, many of whom could plead equal Merit, and equal Want, remained without Provision of any kind.

After thus in some Measure removing the Odium attached to the Act, from that Party of which he formed a Member ; he indirectly accused the new First Minister, of the most unworthy Duplicity, of the complete Abandonment of every political Principle on which he professed to have come into Office, and of an Intention to protect, as well as to shelter, East Indian Delinquents. Having next enumerated the great Points on which Lord Shelburne and he had differed in the Cabinet, among which he particularly specified the Question of conceding Independence to America ; he concluded by heaping upon that Nobleman, Imputations more severe and humiliating, if possible, than the Charges with which, during many Years, he had profusely loaded Lord North. In the Warmth of his Indignation, he even ventured to predict the Probability, that with a View to maintain Possession of the Power so acquired, Lord Shelburne would not scruple to apply for Support, to the very Men, whom the House and the Nation, had recently driven from their official Situations. He unfortunately did not then foresee, that within seven Months from the Time when he was speaking, he should, himself, in order to re-

enter the Cabinet, form a Junction with the expelled Minister, whom he had so long held up to national Resentment, and towards whom he still professed the utmost Alienation. Such were the Inconsistencies and Contradictions, into which the Ambition of Fox betrayed him; and from which, all the Splendor of his Talents could not extricate his public Character, without eventually incurring Imputations, nearly as heavy as those which he lavished on his political Opponents.

I should find it difficult to convey any adequate Idea of this Debate, or rather, Discussion; which, during the far greater Part of the Time it lasted, had not the slightest Reference, nor made the smallest Allusion to the ostensible Subject before the House, Barré's Pension. In Defiance of Order, it was maintained for three or four Hours, in the Shape of a Conversation or Dialogue, carried on between Fox and General Conway exclusively; the Speaker and the Members present, who were very numerous, (especially if the advanced Season of the Year be considered;) acquiescing in a total Departure from the Question under Examina-

tion, from Motives of Curiosity. Never, perhaps, were political Disclosures more delicate and interesting, made within those Walls! Fox, in Violation of the Secrecy which his late Situation seemed to impose on him; anxious to justify his own violent and precipitate Conduct, by accusing Lord Shelburne of a Dereliction of Principles embraced by the whole Cabinet; lifted up the Veil from before it, and laid it in some Measure open to general View. There were certain Parts of his Justification, I own, that carried Conviction or Approbation with them: but, he by no means succeeded in persuading the Majority of his Hearers, that he had acted wisely, temperately, or from Necessity, in hastily throwing up his Office. We may safely pronounce that Disappointment, not Patriotism, animated him to that improvident Step, though he might really believe that Lord Shelburne did not mean to concede Independence to America.

In Reply to Mr. Gascoyne's Accusation, that the new Administration was not less divided than their Predecessors, Fox observed, that he had blamed Lord North for having remained in Place, after he found himself at

the Head of distracted Councils. “As soon
“as I discovered,” said he, “that I stood in
“a similar Situation, I could not remain a
“Member of the Cabinet, without committing an Act of Treachery to my Country,
“when Measures, dangerous, if not fatal,
“were meditated.”——“I declare, that I
“have only resigned, because I believe a
“new System is about to be adopted; or
“rather, the ancient System revived. I feel
“it indispensable to come forward, to ring
“the Alarum Bell, and to warn the Country
“that the old System is to be pursued; probably, with *the former Men*; or, indeed,
“with any Men that can be found for the
“Purpose.”——“The *Principles* of the late
“Ministry are now in the Cabinet; and the
“next Thing that I expect, is to see *the late*
“*Ministers themselves* replaced in Office.”——
“All that is great and good in the Kingdom,
“has approved my Retreat. My noble
“Friend, (Lord John Cavendish,) has likewise given in his Resignation; and the
“Public will infer, that when such a Character has quitted the Cabinet, no Man of
“Character ought to remain in it.”——“I
“now retire with a few select Friends, to a
“strong Hold, where I confidently expect

“ all my old Companions to join me, some
“ sooner, and some later, in the Day.”—“ On
“ the Demise of the Marquis of Rocking-
“ ham, all Men’s Eyes were directed to the
“ Duke of Portland. But, instead of that
“ noble Person, the Earl of Shelburne has
“ been selected.” Then, having inveighed
against the new first Lord of the Treasury,
as the Reverse of his Predecessor ; as a No-
bleman who neither regarded Promises, nor
Engagements, nor Systems, nor Principles,
provided that by abandoning or violating
them, he could acquire and retain Power ;
“ I doubt not,” added he, “ that in Order
“ to secure himself in Office, he will have
“ Recourse to every Means that Corruption
“ can procure. And I expect that he will
“ shortly be joined by *those very Men, whom*
“ *the House has recently precipitated from*
“ *their Seats.*” Yet, after having thus re-
peatedly denounced the late Ministers, and
warned the Country of the impending Dan-
ger from their being again taken into Power ;
by one of those Contradictions common to
Fox, he concluded with declaring, that “ as
“ to any Apprehensions of letting in the old
“ Administration, he entertained none ; be-
“ cause the House of Commons would not

“suffer it; the People would not suffer it;
“indeed, no Man would be bold enough to
“attempt it.”

The Members of the new Administration diverged on this Occasion, in widely different Lines. General Conway, with the “undetermined Discretion” imputed to him by “Junius,” contented himself by endeavouring to justify his own Line of Conduct, and that of the Cabinet Ministers who had declined to imitate the Example of Fox; which he did, rather with Caution and Delicacy, than with any Asperity or Acrimony. With solemn Protestations he declared, that he had not been able to discover the slightest Intention on the Part of the new First Minister, to abandon the Principles upon which the Administration was originally constituted. Those Principles he recapitulated, one by one; the first and most essential of which, forming the Basis of all their Measures or Deliberations, was the Concession of unconditional Independence to America, as the leading Step to Peace. Whenever he should find any Ground for Suspicion, that the Earl of Shelburne designed to adopt another System, he protested that he would not remain for a Day,

or for an Hour, in the Cabinet. He lamented the recent Division and Secession in His Majesty's Councils, as well as the Loss of Ability sustained by Fox's Resignation. Yet he saw no Reason to apprehend that the Successor of the noble Marquis deceased, would fail to pursue the true Interests of his Country. Throughout every Part of Conway's Speech, a Desire to avoid coming to Extremities with Fox, was strongly marked. But, Pitt, now seated on the Treasury Bench, and on the Point of accepting the Office of Chancellor of the Exchequer, observing none of these personal Managements; boldly accused the late Secretary of State with sacrificing his Country, to his Ambition, his Interest, or his Enmities: charged him as being at Variance, not with Principles or Measures, but, with Men; and claimed the Support of the House no longer than he should maintain that System, on which the late Administration had been driven from Power.

“ The Right Honorable Secretary assures
“ us,” said he, “ that it was with the sole View
“ of preventing Dissensions in the Cabinet, he
“ retired from Office. I believe him, because
“ he solemnly declares it. Otherwise I should

“ have attributed his Resignation, to a *Baulk*
“ *in struggling for Power*. If, however, he
“ so much disliked Lord Shelburne’s politi-
“ cal Principles or Opinions, why did he ever
“ consent to act with that Nobleman, as a
“ Colleague? And if he only *suspected* Lord
“ Shelburne of feeling averse to the Mea-
“ sures which he thought necessary to be
“ adopted; it was his Duty to have called a
“ Cabinet Council, and there to have *ascer-*
“ *tained* the Fact, before he took the hasty
“ Resolution of throwing up his Employ-
“ ment. I can assure him that I entertain
“ no such Suspicions. If I did, no Man
“ would be more averse to supporting the
“ present Ministry than myself. I am a
“ determined Enemy to the late ruinous
“ System; and if I should act in any Capa-
“ city under the Administration of the pre-
“ sent Day, whenever I see Things going on
“ wrong, I will first endeavour to set them
“ right.—Should I fail in the Attempt, then,
“ and not before, I will resign.” Perhaps,
in no Transaction of their whole political
Lives, was the Distinction between Fox and
Pitt more strikingly exhibited, than in the
Resignation of the former, and the Accept-
ance of Office by the latter, in July, 1782.

The Judgment, Patience, and Self-command of Pitt, enabled him at three and twenty, to mount over Fox's Shoulders, to enter the Cabinet, and in less than Eighteen Months to fill Lord Shelburne's vacant Place, which he held for seventeen Years ; while his Antagonist, though he twice forced his Way into the Councils of the Sovereign, knew not how to maintain himself in that Elevation.

Lord John Cavendish, though he had recently filled so high an Office in Administration, and though he had resigned, like Fox ; yet took little Part in the Debate relative to Barré's Pension. He however confirmed the late Secretary's Declaration to a certain Degree, respecting Lord Shelburne's Intentions as to America : but, he appeared to act only on Belief, not on Proof. Indeed, he always seemed to be either propelled or restrained at Pleasure by Fox, who held Lord John constantly before him, as a political Screen. Burke, however, made ample Amends for the Defect of Communication on the Part of the late Chancellor of the Exchequer ; and in Defiance of the Impatience manifested by the House, inveighed with equal Violence and Indecorum, against

the new First Lord of the Treasury, whom he depicted as unworthy of the national Confidence. "I invoke Heaven and Earth," exclaimed he, "to witness, that I fully believe the present Ministry will prove infinitely worse than that of the noble Lord, who has been so lately reprobated and driven from Employment!" After treating Conway with great Severity of Animadversion, for trusting to Lord Shelburne's Assurances or Professions; and comparing the General to the little *Red Riding Hood* in *Æsop*, who mistook a Wolf for her Grandmother; Burke demanded, "Whether if he had lived in the Time of Cicero, he would have taken *Catiline* for his Colleague in the Office of Consul, after he had heard his Guilt clearly demonstrated by that illustrious Orator? Would he become a Co-Partner with *Borgia* in his political Schemes, after reading of his nefarious Principles in Machiavel?"—"If the Earl of Shelburne," added he, "be not a *Catiline* or a *Borgia* in Morals, it must be solely ascribed to the Superiority of his Understanding." These Invectives, which only proved the Extent of Burke's Enmity, and of his Regret at quitting the Pay Office,

made little Impression on his Hearers. Lee, who had filled the Situation of Solicitor General under the late Administration, but, who had quitted his Employment at the same Time with the other Adherents of the deceased Marquis;—a Man of strong intellectual Parts, though of coarse Manners, and who never hesitated to clothe his Ideas in the coarsest Language; may be said to have terminated this curious and interesting Conversation. His indecorous Abuse of the new First Minister, though couched in a more homely Garb, and not illustrated by any classical or historical Allusions, exceeded in Violence even the Declamation of Burke. Like him, Lee levelled his Reflections and Accusations, not against the Ability or Talents of the Earl, but, against his Principles of political and moral Action. He fully admitted that Nobleman's external Accomplishments, specious Talents, and comprehensive Information. Mr. Coke having withdrawn his Motion on Barré's Pension, the House broke up: but, from that Evening, the Country and Parliament beheld for the first Time, two Individuals, who might hitherto be said to have fought under the same Standard, openly opposed to each

other; and who were destined never more, during their Lives, under any Change of Circumstances, to act in political Union. In Fact, from this Period, though Lord North remained ostensibly at the Head of one great Party, and though Lord Shelburne, who occupied the Place of First Minister, was nominally the Chief of another; yet they ceased to be considered as the principal Personages in the State. Pitt and Fox attracting far more Attention, were regarded by the Nation at large, no less than by Parliament, as rival Candidates for the future Government of the Country.

[10th and 11th July.] Lord Shelburne, when speaking in the House of Peers, on the Subject of the Pension granted to Barré, which excited the greatest Comment; endeavoured to shift the Origin, and consequently the Odium of having conferred it, on Lord Rockingham. In this Attempt he proved, however, eminently unfortunate, as his Assertions on the Subject, produced the most unqualified Contradiction from the Connexions or Adherents of the deceased Marquis. Burke and Fox, both, denied it in the strongest Terms; calling at the same

Time on Lord John Cavendish, to confirm their Declarations on the Point. His Testimony, which was very vague, added little Force to their previous Protestations: but, it was natural to suppose that the Proposition must have originated with Lord Shelburne, the Patron, Friend, and Protector of Barré. Yet, that Nobleman, when addressing the House of Peers, not only asserted that the deceased Marquis first proposed the Idea; but, added, that he had in his Possession a Letter from Lord Rockingham on the Subject, completely proving his Assertion. The new First Minister, in a long, able, and laboured Address, endeavoured likewise to impress his Audience with a Conviction, that Fox, in his Secession from the Cabinet, could have had no other Motive, except disappointed Ambition and Rivality. Fox, however, not only treated the Insinuation with indignant Contempt, and a positive Denial, in the House of Commons, on the subsequent Day: He likewise, by the Mouth of the Earl of Derby, in the Upper House, where Lord Shelburne was present, declared it “to be contrary to Fact, and a direct “Deviation from the Truth.” Not satisfied with so public a Contradiction, Lord Derby

called on the other Members of Administration who were in their Places, to state their personal Information, and to give Evidence on the Point. Thus compelled, the Duke of Richmond and Lord Keppel rose, and admitted that the late Secretary of State had differed in Sentiment from Lord Shelburne on Subjects of great Importance, *previous to Lord Rockingham's Decease*. They likewise added, that in Consequence of finding himself in a Minority on the Matter then agitated in the Cabinet, Fox had declared his Intention to resign his Office.

After so clear and distinct a Testimony, it became impossible to doubt or to deny the Fact; especially as neither Lord Camden, nor Lord Ashburton, who were both in the House at the Time, disputed the Authenticity of the two noble Witnesses. However painful or humiliating these Contradictions must have been, which impeached Lord Shelburne's personal Veracity, equally as a Man, and as a Minister; he nevertheless submitted to them, without making any further Effort to justify himself in the Opinion of the Public: and the Circumstances that attended the Prorogation of Parliament,

seemed to indicate his Impatience under the Deliberations of that Assembly, as well as his Apprehensions of the Impression made on many Individuals, by Fox's Accusations. Lord Shelburne's Courage, which was unquestionable, had been proved in the Duel that he fought with Colonel Fullerton. It became therefore impossible to suppose, that he would have tamely endured such Imputations on his private Character, if he had possessed the Means of effectually repelling or disproving them. Even on the Subject of granting American Independence, there appeared so much Ambiguity, if not Tergiversation and Contradiction in all his Parliamentary Speeches, as greatly tended to persuade Mankind, that Fox's Allegations respecting Lord Shelburne's Disinclination to concede the Point, must have had a Foundation in Truth. The very Principle on which he avowed, when addressing the House of Peers, that he retained his Place in the Councils of the Crown, seemed scarcely compatible with strict Regard to political Rectitude. For, he declared in the plainest Language, that he was not only adverse in his own Judgment, to acknowledging the Independence of the thirteen Colo-

nies; but, that whenever such a Recognition should be extorted from this Country, “The “Sun of British Glory would have set.” Yet in the same Moment he admitted, that as the Majority of the Rockingham Cabinet were of an opposite Opinion, he should acquiesce in the Measure; which Measure, though destructive, as he conceived, to Great Britain, he was now ready, in his new Capacity, if Parliament approved it, to carry into Execution.

No political Imputation, affixed on Lord North, had operated with more Force in his Disfavor, on the Minds of the Public, than the Assertion of his Enemies, that he prosecuted the American War in Opposition to his own Conviction, from a Love of Place, or from unworthy Subservience to the Royal Will. But, to a similar Charge, the new First Minister appeared in some Measure voluntarily to subject himself. He might however plead, as he did in Fact assert, when addressing the House of Peers, that, “however dreadful the impending Disaster “would prove, as he believed, to his Country; however much he deprecated and deplored it, and whatever Efforts he had

“ made to prevent it; yet, that an overpower-
“ ing and insurmountable Necessity com-
“ pelled him to become the Agent for car-
“ rying into Effect so destructive a Mea-
“ sure.” He even succeeded, as we know,
in surmounting the King’s Repugnance to
the final Separation of America from the
British Empire. Fox, therefore, if he had
not been impelled by Animosity to Lord
Shelburne, and by a Determination not to
remain in the Cabinet, unless the Duke of
Portland was placed at the Head of Admi-
nistration, might have continued in Office,
without abandoning any Principle. He
preferred a more violent Alternative. His
Friends, as well as the daily Newspapers at-
tached to his Party, joined in accusing the
new First Minister of having undermined
Lord Rockingham in the Royal Esteem, by
the most unworthy Arts, in order to get
Possession of his Office: while political
Caricatures, exhibited in the Shops of the
Metropolis, represented Lord Shelburne ha-
bited as *Guy Faux*, so notorious for the Part
that was assigned him in the “Gunpowder
Plot,” under James the First; holding a
dark Lanthorn in his Hand, advancing under
cover of the Night, to blow up the Treasury.

Such were the Circumstances under which commenced that Nobleman's Administration. Even down to the last Moment that the House of Commons remained sitting, Burke, among the querulous Lamentations that he uttered, on being so suddenly ejected from his Office of Paymaster of the Forces;—a Misfortune which seemed deeply to affect him;—mingled the loudest Exclamations against the Falsity and Defect of Principle in the First Minister. His *Philippic* was cut short in the Middle, by the Arrival of Sir Francis Molineux, as Usher of the Black Rod, sent to summon the Attendance of the Members, at the Bar of the House of Lords; where the King, already seated on the Throne, was ready to prorogue the Parliament. A singular Fact, arising out of the late Reforms, accompanied this Ceremony. Among the Retrenchments of the Royal Household and Dignity, which Burke's Bill had made, was included, as has been already observed, the Suppression of the Jewel Office; the Business of which Department was principally conducted by Mr. William Egerton, a Relation of the Duke of Bridgewater, and a Member of the House of Commons. The Bill having so recently passed

into a Law, no new official Regulation had as yet been adopted, for the Removal or Transportation of the Paraphernalia of the Crown. On the Occasion of His Majesty going to Westminster, to prorogue the two Houses, it became indispensable to convey thither the Crown and Sceptre, together with various other Articles of State. The Master of the Jewel Office being suppressed, in whose Department these Dispositions previously lay; Application was made both to the Lord Steward, and to the Lord Chamberlain, praying that Orders might be issued to the Keeper of the Jewels in the Tower, for bringing them to Westminster on the Day of the Prorogation. But, those great Officers of State, not conceiving themselves to possess a Power of Interference, Directions were at length dispatched for the Purpose, from the Home Secretary of State's Office. After some Consultation held, relative to the safest Mode of conveying the Royal Ornaments; none of the King's Carriages being sent to receive them, Application was next made to the Magistrates at Bow-Street, who detached four or five stout Agents of the Police, for their Protection. Two Hackney Coaches being provided, in

which the various Articles were placed; with a view to render the Transportation of them more private, the Procession set out circuitously from the Tower, by the New Road; entering London again at Portland-Street, and so proceeded down to Westminster. The Blinds were kept up the whole Way; and after the Prorogation, they returned by the same Road, without experiencing any Accident. But, it is unquestionable, that eight or ten desperate Fellows, had they been apprized of the Circumstance, might have easily overpowered the Persons employed, and have carried off the Jewels. The memorable Enterprize of Colonel Blood, under Charles the Second, who got hold of the Crown and Sceptre, though he ultimately failed in retaining Possession of them, was in Fact, a far more hazardous Undertaking; as, in Order to execute it, he lay under the Necessity of entering the Tower: whereas, in the present Instance, the Attempt might have been made in the Street, or in the New Road. Any Accident of the Kind, had it taken Place, would necessarily have thrown some Degree of Ridicule, as well as of Blame, on a System of

Economy, productive of such Consequences in its Outset.

Among the interesting Features of the Session of Parliament before us, which, on Account of a Degree of Mystery or Ambiguity accompanying them, greatly exercised national Curiosity; may be reckoned the Proceedings commenced against Sir Thomas Rumbold. I say, commenced, because they never were prosecuted to any Consummation. This Gentleman returned, as has been already mentioned, from Madras, early in 1781, under Imputations the most injurious to his Fame. He was accused of having, while Governor of that important Settlement, not only amassed by every unbecoming Means, an immense Fortune; but, of first provoking a War with Hyder Ally, by Acts of imprudent Aggression, and then of abandoning the Country entrusted to his Care, with pusillanimous or interested Precipitation. These Charges, which were solemnly brought against him by Mr. Dundas, Lord Advocate of Scotland, as Chairman of the Secret Committee appointed by the House of Commons, to enquire into the

Causes of the War in the Carnatic, produced a deep Impression on the public Mind. We have already seen the Steps which were immediately adopted by the Legislature, to tie up and impound Sir Thomas's Person, as well as his Fortune. But, in Addition to these Precautions, a Bill for inflicting on him Pains and Penalties, as a Man who had been guilty of high Crimes and Misdemeanors, was introduced by Mr. Dundas himself.

Such a Measure, which excited general Approbation, appeared to be worthy the national Justice, exerted in punishing a great public Culprit. The Line of active and ambitious Policy pursued by Hastings, when Governor-General of Bengal, might possibly have led to many Misfortunes, and might, perhaps, merit Condemnation. But, his Motives were admitted, even by his Enemies, to have been splendid and elevated, however pernicious, as they asserted, in their Operation or Consequences. The Mal-Administration of Rumbold, on the contrary, seemed only directed to sordid and selfish Purposes. Every Party, it was therefore hoped, would concur in carrying through

such a Bill; and though Mr. Dundas, after the Termination of Lord North's Ministry, no longer acted in an official Situation, yet, in his Capacity of Chairman of "the Secret Committee," he spoke from a great Eminence, and might expect universal Support. Least of all, it was supposed, could the Rockingham Party, who had just come into Power, who professed to call to a severe Account, all such as had plundered or injured the Country, and who loudly demanded an Enquiry into East-India Delinquencies, attempt to throw Obstacles in the Path of Justice. Under these Circumstances, all Men expected, and most Men hoped, that the Bill in Question would have speedily found its Way through the House of Commons, and have finally passed into a Law. The Fact, nevertheless, turned out completely otherwise. Meanwhile the Session advanced: a full Attendance, as Mr. Dundas asserted and complained, could not be procured: the House was frequently counted out; and whether from the Operation of that Cause, or from any other Reason more concealed, no rapid Progress was made in the Business. Sir Thomas Rumbold's Person and Property remained, it is

true, sequestered or restrained; but, beyond that temporary Interposition, no permanent Punishment was inflicted on him.

Men who had anticipated much more vigorous and speedy, as well as decisive Proceedings, and who beheld the supposed Criminal thus elude or escape, as it were, the Grasp of national Pursuit; reasoned and commented on the Fact. Malignity or Credulity invented Reasons for whatever appeared inexplicable throughout the Transaction. Secret Springs were asserted to have been touched, which had arrested or paralyzed the Exertions of the Prosecutor. Time, Place, and Circumstances, were even particularized; all which, though perhaps untrue or imaginary, seemed nevertheless, not only in themselves, possible, but, so well fabricated, and so minutely detailed, as to appear highly probable. I shall, however, relate only such Facts as are unquestionably authentic.

Rumbold, though a Man of low Extraction, and of a mean Education, did not by any means want Activity, Judgment, or Talents. I knew him well. In his Person he

was well made and handsome; but, his Features, though regular and manly, contained nothing in them prepossessing. His successful Exertions, while Governor of Madras, in reducing Pondicherry, had elevated him to the Dignity of a Baronet. On his Arrival in England, aware of the Storm that impended over him, he immediately contrived to get into Parliament; and he soon afterwards brought his eldest Son into the House of Commons; by which Means he came into daily Collision and Communication with those, who might either injure, or could defend him. That he was not idle, is certain; and he attempted in his Place, as a Member of the House, to justify himself from the Charges exhibited against him, with some Ability. In addition however to these personal Efforts, he soon found Means to conciliate a Friend, who was supposed to have laboured efficaciously towards his Extrication.

That Friend, I mean, Mr. Rigby, the late Paymaster of the Forces, having enjoyed during a great number of Years, one of the most profitable Places under the Crown, without any Colleague, had acquired a large

Fortune. But, his luxurious and expensive Manner of living in Town; his magnificent Seat at Mistley Hall in Essex, where he maintained a splendid Establishment of every kind; when added to his Purchases of landed Property, had exhausted even Means so vast, and left him, as it were, necessitous in the midst of Wealth. In this Situation of his Affairs, the sudden Termination of Lord North's Administration, not only deprived him of his Employment; but, in Consequence of the System of Reform adopted by the new Ministers, and in particular from the Regulations introduced by Burke, his Successor in the Pay-Office, which compelled him to pay into the Exchequer, the immense Balances of public Money remaining in his Hands; Rigby became involved in great pecuniary Embarrassments. These Balances having been vested by him in Mortgages, or in other Securities; and the public Funds suffering then under great Depression, it could not be in Fact an easy Matter, to find the Means of answering promptly the Demands made upon him by Government, for Repayment.

Rumbold had brought with him from the

East, as Verres did from Sicily, very ample Resources, which he well knew how to use, in Time of Need, for his own Protection; and Rigby's Situation, which was generally understood, might render a Loan of Money peculiarly convenient. That Gentleman having no Children, his Sister's Son was destined to inherit his Name and Property. Rumbold had a Daughter, whose Age and Accomplishments qualified her to be united to him in Marriage. The Alliance being agreed on, it was supposed that by the secret Articles, the East India Governor advanced to his Friend, such a Sum, as greatly facilitated those Payments of the public Money, which he was necessitated to furnish without Delay. After entering into so close a Connexion, cemented by such binding Ties, it might be esteemed natural, and even venial, that Rigby should lend his reciprocal Aid to Sir Thomas Rumbold. Though no longer Paymaster of the Forces, Rigby still possessed great Capacities of being useful; and he was not supposed to lie under the Dominion of any fastidious Scruples. Above all, his intimate Friendship with Mr. Dundas, who took the lead in the Parliamentary Prosecution instituted against Rumbold,

might enable Rigby to find Means and Opportunities of diminishing those Prejudices, or softening those Impressions, that operated most injuriously against the accused Person. No Proof has been indeed ever produced, that improper Means were used to effect this Object; nor do I believe that any such were employed: but, the Public being in Possession of certain Facts, and observing that the Proceedings so vigorously begun in Parliament against Rumbold, seemed unaccountably to languish, and eventually to expire towards the Close of the Session of 1783, though they were nominally renewed when the House met in the subsequent Month of December;—inferred, perhaps very unjustly, that there must exist some latent Cause, which had blunted the Edge of the Weapon. Rumbold, it is certain, was finally extricated; but, whether the ostensible Reasons assigned for deferring the Bill of Pains and Penalties, formed the only Circumstances that conduced to his Escape; or, whether more efficacious and cogent Arguments of any kind were used, must always remain Matter of Conjecture and Assertion, like many other obscure Points of biographical History.

[15th—31st of July.] The Session being now terminated, Lord Shelburne might be regarded as secure in the Possession of his newly acquired Power, at least for several Months. During that Interval, Means, it was naturally imagined, could easily be discovered, of cementing and confirming the Ministry. Negotiations for Peace were already begun with America, which, if successful, it was probable, must eventually lead to a Treaty with our European Enemies. The Talents of the first Lord of the Treasury, were considered as eminently adapted to diplomatic Discussions; in the Conduct of which, his enlarged Knowledge of the foreign Interests of Great Britain, and his minute Acquaintance with the Continental Courts, enabled him, it was said, to act at once with Vigor and Perspicuity. If he had lost the Abilities of Fox and Burke in the House of Commons, he had, on the other Hand, secured and attached to him two Men, no less able in different Ways; Pitt, and Dundas. He moreover possessed the Confidence of the Sovereign; who, as all Men supposed, would, from Necessity, if not from Inclination, support a Minister preferred by himself to his present Office.

Lord North might even, it was hoped, feel a far stronger Disposition to join the actual Administration, whenever Parliament should meet again, than to unite with the Rockingham Party, his inveterate Enemies. Under this Aspect of public Affairs, though Lord Shelburne neither stood as high in the national Opinion, for severe Integrity and Probity, as his deceased Predecessor, the Marquis of Rockingham, had done ; nor could command that Parliamentary Strength, which Lord North still in some Measure influenced or led ; yet many Persons considered his Tenure of Office as by no Means precarious, and augured well of its Duration.

Burke's Invectives against the First Minister, which continued to the last Instant that the Forms of Parliament permitted, were nevertheless suspended while the Prorogation put an End to the Business of the House of Commons. However violent he might be in his Place, as a Member of the Legislature, Burke never carried his Complaints to the People. But, Fox, who acted no less as a Demagogue, than as the Representative of Westminster ; and who always seemed to take the Gracchi for his Model ; anxious to

appeal from his late Dismission by the King, to the popular Suffrage, convoked his Constituents, in order to lay before them the Reasons for his Resignation. They met, almost immediately after the Session closed, in Westminster Hall, where he reiterated all the Heads of Accusation against Lord Shelburne, which he had already detailed a few Days before, in the House of Commons: but, the general Impression, even among that Audience, which heard him with Partiality, seemed nevertheless to be, that personal Ambition and Rivality, more than real Principle or Patriotism, had regulated his Conduct. The specious Pretence under which the Meeting was assembled, namely, that of petitioning the Crown for a more equal Representation of the People; produced however, as might have been expected, an unanimous Assent. He then dismissed them till the ensuing Winter.

[August.] Sir Samuel Hood, whom the victorious Admiral in the West Indies, detached a few Days after the Defeat of de Grasse, with several Vessels, in Pursuit of the flying Enemy; having come up with some of them, captured two more French

Line of Battle Ships, as well as two Frigates, off the East End of the Island of St. Domingo. Though these eminent naval Advantages secured Jamaica from Invasion or Attack, yet, far from regaining any of our insular Possessions in that Quarter of the Globe, on the contrary, such was our State of Exhausture, that Spain fitted out an Expedition against the Bahama Islands, which she easily reduced to her Obedience. But, the Attention of the Capital and the Nation became more powerfully, as well as painfully attracted, by the Catastrophe of the “Royal George,” which took Place about the same Time, than by the Loss of any Trans-Atlantic Settlements. This Ship, the Pride and Ornament of the British Navy, to the Disgrace of a Nation considered as superior to every other People in nautical Skill, disappeared in an Instant, on the 29th of August, as is well known, at Spithead; carrying with her to the Bottom, an English Admiral, and, as it was computed, nearly a thousand Persons of both Sexes. I was well acquainted with Kempenfeldt, one of the most able, as well as scientific Officers in the British naval Service. It is impossible, even at this Distance of Time, to reflect on

such an Event, which resulted from the injudicious or careless Manner of laying down the “Royal George,” without Amazement as well as Horror. The Gloom and Consternation, diffused by the Intelligence over the Metropolis, are hardly to be conceived; and the Incredibility of the Fact encreased the Sense of the Disaster. No parallel Circumstance is to be found in our naval Annals: probably not in those of any other European Nation. In a superstitious Age, it would, no doubt, have been considered as ominous of the greatest national, or Royal Misfortunes. That Tempests, Fire, or Rocks and Quicksands, should swallow up and destroy the proudest Works of human Art, is natural; often, unavoidable. When Sir Cloudesley Shovel, under the Reign of Queen Anne, perished, together with his Ship and all his Crew, wrecked on the Scilly Islands; or when the “Victory,” under George the Second, foundered in the Race of Alderney, with Admiral Balchen, and eleven hundred Persons on board:—such Calamities were in the Order of Things, however much to be deplored. But, in the present Instance, only an utter Disregard to common prudential Precautions, could have

produced an Event so unprecedented. Her very *Name*, and her Superiority in Size, as well as in Strength, to every other Ship in the Service, she carrying a hundred Guns; added to the Bitterness of the Reflections which her Loss occasioned throughout the Kingdom. Those who recollect that the “Queen Charlotte,” a Man of War of the first Rate, carrying one hundred and ten Guns, with an Admiral’s Flag, was consumed by somewhat similar Negligence, together with near seven hundred of her Crew, on the 17th of March, 1800, near the Port of Leghorn; may find ample Reason for Speculation, on the Singularity of two such disastrous Events having taken Place within eighteen Years of each other, under the same Reign.

[September.] The melancholy Impression made by the Catastrophe just related, became, if possible, still more strongly excited immediately afterwards, by other naval Misfortunes equally afflicting in their Nature. If the Fact of the “Royal George” going down at her Anchors, when no Danger was even apprehended, stands without Precedent in our maritime Records; the Fatality which

seemed to pursue the Ships of the Line that had been captured by Rodney on the 12th of April, as well as most of our own Men of War, accompanying the French Prizes, on their Return from the West Indies; can scarcely be equalled in modern History. The Chain of Shipwrecks and adverse Events, that attended Commodore Anson's Expedition round Cape Horn, under the late Reign, which so greatly reduced the Numbers of his Squadron; even the Disasters, so pathetically related in the same Work, that ruined the Fleet of the Spanish Admiral Pizarro, nearly in the same Latitudes, and at the same Time;—those Calamities, however extraordinary and tragical they appear, yet sink on a Comparison with the Destruction experienced by our devoted Ships, in 1782, when crossing the Atlantic. Captain Inglefield has commemorated the Fate of the "Centaur," as well as his own astonishing Escape, when she foundered with her Officers and Crew. That affecting Narrative may serve as too faithful a Picture of the Misfortunes experienced by the other Vessels. The "Ramillies," a Name proverbially unfortunate in the English Navy, was set on Fire, when it became impossible any

longer either to navigate, or to preserve her. One of the French Ships of the Line, the “Hector,” seemed to be reserved for more severe Trials of every kind; in the Course of which, all that human Fortitude, Skill, and Courage, when combined, could Effect, was performed by our Officers and Seamen. They were, almost miraculously, saved, though the “Hector” herself perished.

Over the closing Scene of the “Ville de Paris,” as well as over the Fate of the “Glorieux,” an impenetrable Curtain is drawn. It is certain that the last named Vessel, a French seventy-four Gun Ship, commanded by the Honorable Captain Cadogan, disappeared during the Middle Watch, on the Night of the 17th or 18th of September, after firing many Signals of Distress. Her Lights had been visible till that Time; but, when Day appeared, no Vestiges of her were discovered, and she doubtless foundered during the Storm. Nor was de Grasse’s Ship, originally purchased with so vast an Effusion of Blood, and herself the Pride of the French Navy, ever destined to reach an English Port. The hasty Repairs

given her at Jamaica, could only be slight or partial; and it was confidently asserted, that during the Gale of Wind which proved so fatal, her Guns breaking loose, tore open her Side, and accelerated, if they did not cause, her final Destruction. Tidings of her were long expected, and the Nation continued to nourish Hopes for many Months, of her Re-appearance. About this Time, while her Fate still remained problematical, a Man was brought to the Admiralty, and there examined, who had been taken up at Sea, nearly senseless and extenuated; tied to, or floating on a Hen-coop. He asserted, and his Testimony appeared to be entitled to Credit; that he served on board the "Ville de Paris," as a common Sailor, at the Moment when she foundered. But, few, or no Particulars relative to the Event itself, could be extracted from this Survivor; who, as I was assured by a Flag Officer that questioned him, possessed neither Faculties nor Memory to recount almost any Circumstance, except the Fact of her Loss. Admiral Graves, who commanded the Fleet, was censured by the popular Voice, for having stood some Degrees more to the Northward, in returning Home across the

Atlantic, at that Season, than he needed to have done; or than he was warranted in doing by Lord Rodney's Orders. But, this Accusation may possibly have been more severe than just; though I think I have heard Lord Rodney himself state the Circumstance, and express his Conviction of the injurious Consequences that resulted from navigating in too high a Latitude, during a Time of Equinoctial Gales.

Happily, the Gloom which these melancholy Events diffused, was speedily relieved and dissipated, by Transactions of the most exhilarating Nature. Minorca, it is true, had surrendered early in the Summer: but, Gibraltar, which Fortress still resisted every Attack, attracted, no less from the prodigious Means employed for its Reduction by the Enemy, than from the Energy and Activity exerted in its Defence, the Attention of all Europe. The two most memorable Sieges which are recorded in modern History; namely, that of Antwerp, undertaken by Alexander Farnese, Prince of Parma, under Philip the Second, in the sixteenth Century; and that of Ostend, begun

by the Spanish General, Spinola, only a few Years later; however illustrious they have each been rendered from the long protracted Resistance made by the besieged, were both finally crowned with Success. Gibraltar, on the contrary, repelled the Assailants in the most brilliant Manner. All the Means that human Art, Expence, and Force, could collect or combine, by Land, as well as by Sea, were accumulated under its Walls: while the two Branches of the House of Bourbon, unconscious of the lamentable Destiny preparing for themselves in the Womb of Time, seemed to vie in their Efforts to accelerate its Fall. Charles the Third, who then reigned in Spain, already anticipated the Completion of an Event, which, as he justly conceived, would render his Name and Reign immortal in the Spanish Annals. Under the same fallacious Expectation, Louis the Sixteenth dispatched his youngest Brother, Count d'Artois, to assist at its Surrender: while the Barbary Powers, though by no Means indifferent, or uninterested Spectators of this great Contest, and though they are said to have put up Prayers in all their Mosques for our Suc-

cess ; yet quietly expected the Result, without making the smallest Effort in our Favor.

If Lord Rodney acquired so much personal Glory by his Victory over de Grasse, General Eliott did not establish a less brilliant Reputation, by his Repulse and Defeat of the Spanish floating Batteries, on the 13th of September, of the same Year. The American War, which at Saratoga, and at York Town, displayed Spectacles so humiliating to the British Arms, terminated with the most splendid Triumphs over our European Enemies ; and this Portion of the Reign of George the Third, (like the second Punic War in Antiquity,) exhibits, between 1777 and 1782, the greatest Reverses of adverse, and of prosperous Fortune. While we lost so vast an Empire beyond the Atlantic, we humbled with one Hand, the French naval Force in the West Indies ; annihilating with the other, the combined Efforts of France and Spain, which were centered for the Subjugation of a distant Garrison, apparently left to its own Capacities of Defence, and cut off from the obvious Means of Relief. But, even after the

Destruction of the Spanish Vessels and Batteries, it seemed still impossible to throw into Gibraltar, timely Supplies of Ammunition, competent to recruit the Expenditure that had taken Place during the Siege. Provisions, Fuel, Clothing, as well as many other essential or indispensable Articles, could only be sent out from England. Near fifty French and Spanish Ships of the Line, which occupied the Bay of Gibraltar, appeared to set at Defiance all Approach. Notwithstanding these apparently insuperable Obstacles, the Attempt succeeded, in Opposition to every Impediment.

[October,] So low had sunk the numerical naval Force of Great Britain at this Period, as compared with the Strength of the Enemy, that the utmost Exertions of the Admiralty, under the new Administration, could only equip and send to Sea, thirty-four Sail of the Line; which Fleet did not quit Spithead, till nearly the Day on which General Eliott had already repulsed and burnt the floating Batteries, under the Walls of the besieged Fortress. Yet, never was the real Superiority of our Navy in Skill and Science, more evidently

demonstrated, than in successfully throwing Succours into a Place invested by Sea and Land, without committing any Event to hazard, or affording to Adversaries so numerous, the slightest Advantage. Lord Howe, who conducted and commanded the whole Enterprize, manifested such a Combination of Tactics and of Ability in his Manœuvres, as place his Name deservedly high in the Annals of his Country. If the Reputation that he attained on this Occasion, seems less brilliant than the Fame acquired by Rodney in vanquishing de Grasse, it was not on that Account less permanent or solid. Without engaging, he defied the combined Fleets; offered Battle, but did not seek it; effected every Object of the Expedition, by relieving Gibraltar, and then retreated; followed indeed by the Enemy, but, not attacked. They made, it is true, a shew of fighting, but, never ventured to come to close Action. And with such Contempt did Lord Howe treat the Cannonade commenced by the Van, composed of French Ships under La Motte Piquet; that having ordered all his Men on board the "Victory," to lie down flat on the Deck, in order that their Lives might not be needlessly exposed,

he disdained to return a single Shot against such cautious or timid Opponents.

Pigot, who had succeeded to Rodney in the West Indies, through the Favor of Fox, in Defiance of public Opinion, by no means emulated his Predecessor's Example of Activity and Enterprize. Though placed at the head of six and forty Sail of the Line, sustained by the Reputation of a great Victory, he neither effected nor attempted any Object, during more than six Months that he held the Command. Such Inactivity seemed to reproach the Ministry who had sent him thither, and excited severe Animadversions on Fox. In the East Indies, and there only, where Sir Edward Hughes was opposed to Suffrein, France still maintained the Contest on the Water. That active and intrepid Officer last named, the most able of any employed by Louis the Sixteenth during the whole Progress of the War, made repeated, though ineffectual Efforts, for compelling the English Squadron to abandon the Coast of Coromandel.

[November.] While Lord Howe thus placed in Security, the most brilliant foreign Posses-

sion belonging to the British Crown in Europe ; Negotiations of a pacific Nature were carrying on at Paris, both with America, and with the other coalesced Powers. The provisional Articles concluded with the revolted Colonies, which were first signed, did not indeed demand either any considerable Length of Time, or superior diplomatic Talents, in order to conduct them to a prosperous Termination ; where almost every possible Concession was made on the Part of England, merely to obtain from America a Cessation of Hostilities. Not only their Independence was recognized in the most explicit Terms :— Territory, Rivers, Lakes, Commerce, Islands, Ports and fortified Places, Indian Allies, Loyalists ;—all were given up to the Congress. In fixing the Boundaries between Canada and the United States, ideal Limits, ignorantly adopted on our Part, were laid down amidst unknown Tracts. Franklin, who, as one of the four American Commissioners appointed to manage the Treaty, affixed his Name to the Instrument of provisional Pacification ; enjoyed, at the advanced Period of Fourscore Years, the Satisfaction of witnessing the complete Emancipation of his Countrymen from Great Britain, to effect which he had so eminently contributed by

his Talents and Exertions. Few Subjects, born and educated, like him, in the inferior Classes of Society, have in any Age of the Earth, without drawing the Sword in Person, obtained so gratifying a Triumph over their legitimate Sovereign, or have aided to produce a greater political Revolution on the Face of the Globe.

[December.] A First Minister who possessed so slender a Portion of Popularity, or of Influence over the two Houses of Parliament, as Lord Shelburne could command; would, it was supposed, have employed the long Interval subsequent to the Prorogation, in strengthening by every Exertion, his Tenure of Power. Unless he either regained the Heads of the Rockingham Party, or conciliated Lord North, which last Measure seemed to be more natural; it was obvious that he might, at any Moment, be crushed by the Union of those Leaders. On the Opening of the Session, it soon however became evident that no such ministerial Approximation had taken Place, and that the Administration relied for Support, upon its own proper Strength, or Ability. But, on the other Hand, Lord North and Mr. Fox, though both acted in Opposition to Govern-

ment, yet remained nevertheless still in complete and hostile Separation. Scarcely did they refrain, on every Occasion that presented itself, from personal Reflections on each other. Neither the Peace made with the American States, nor even the Recognition of their Independence by Great Britain, being however in themselves complete, till a Treaty should be likewise concluded with France, public Attention became wholly directed to the Issue of the pending Negotiations with that Court. On their Termination, whether it should prove hostile or pacific, all Men foresaw that the two great Parties, who now stood at Bay, without joining each other, or uniting with Lord Shelburne; would necessarily take some decisive Step, most beneficial, or most injurious in its Results, to the Administration.

Never perhaps at any Period of our History, did two successive Sessions of the same Parliament, commence under Circumstances more dissimilar than those of 1781, and of 1782. At the Opening of the former, when the Speech from the Throne announced the Disaster at York Town, Consternation or

Depression might be legibly traced in almost every Countenance. America was lost, Gibraltar invested, Jamaica menaced, our Dominions in the East nearly subverted. But, in December, 1782, the Clouds had dispersed; not, however, from the Change of Ministers, but, of Measures. We no longer pursued the delusive Phantom of subjecting the Trans-Atlantic Colonies. Rodney, whom Lord Sandwich had sent out to the West Indies, had vanquished and dispersed the French Navy. Eliott had destroyed the Spanish Gun Boats before Gibraltar. Lord Howe had thrown Supplies into that Fortress, and afterwards offered Battle to the combined Fleets. Nor were our Affairs throughout the Peninsula of Indostan, less changed. Hyder Ally was driven from before Madras. Peace had been concluded with the Mharattas; while Hughes, though not victorious, had frustrated all the Efforts of Suffrein to obtain a Superiority on the Coast of Coromandel. The Rockingham Administration had not in the slightest Degree contributed towards these great national Advantages. Fox had even recalled the victorious Admiral, to whom we owed the Twelfth of April. Keppel fitted out his

Fleets, with the Stores provided by his Predecessor in Office; and to Lord Sandwich was, in Fact, justly due the Relief of Gibraltar. But, Keppel had restored in a certain Degree, that Unanimity to which the British Navy had been Strangers during the Progress of the whole American Contest. Lord Howe, and Admiral Barrington, Names deservedly cherished in our maritime Annals, re-appeared on the Quarter Deck from which they had been so long removed. The Fleets of the House of Bourbon, which, during three successive Summers had approached, menaced, and insulted our Coasts, no longer navigated the English Channel. Peace began to dawn upon us, and seemed to be at no remote Distance. The First Minister, sustained by the Sovereign at St. James's, derived no less Benefit from the Talents of the Chancellor of the Exchequer within the Walls of the House of Commons. While in Probity, Pitt might be placed on an Equality with Lord John Cavendish, not the slightest Comparison could be made between their respective Talents; and Lord Shelburne derived incalculable Strength from his Support. On this

apparently firm Foundation stood the Ministry at the Beginning of the Session.

[5th and 6th December.]—The Speech pronounced by His Majesty from the Throne on the Occasion, may unquestionably be ranked among the most singular Compositions ever put into the Mouth of a British Sovereign. In Length, I believe it had no Parallel since the Time of James the First, and certainly it would be vain to seek for any similar Production, since the Accession of the House of Hanover. Some Passages seemed more suitable to the Spirit and Language of a Moralist or of a Sage, than of a Monarch. In the Midst of it was introduced an Invocation, or rather a Prayer, offered up by George the Third to the Supreme Being; imploring his divine Interference to avert the Calamities, which the American Colonies, in Consequence of their becoming independent States, might experience from the Suppression of monarchical Power. Burke held up this pious Effusion of Royal Charity and Philanthropy, to great Ridicule. “The King,” exclaimed he, “is “made by his Minister to fall upon his

“ Knees, and to deprecate the Wrath of
“ Heaven from the misguided American
“ People, that they may not suffer from the
“ Want of Monarchy. A People who never
“ were designed for Monarchy! Who in
“ their Nature and Character are adverse to
“ Monarchy, and who never had any other
“ than the Smell of Monarchy, at the Dis-
“ tance of three Thousand Miles! They
“ are now to be protected by the Prayers
“ of their former Sovereign, from the Conse-
“ quences of its Loss. Such whimpering
“ and absurd Piety has neither Dignity,
“ Meaning, nor common Sense.” It must
be owned that these Comments, however
severe, were not destitute of Truth. Other
Parts of the royal Speech, afforded him equal
subject for Mirth and Satire. The King
concluding by a Demand on Parliament, for
the Exertion of *Temper, Wisdom, and Disin-*
terestedness, subjoined as his last Words,
“ My People *expect* these Qualifications of
“ you, and I *call* for them.” “ I believe,”
said Burke, “ that since the Days of Charles
“ the First, who advanced into this House,
“ and threw himself into the Speaker’s
“ Chair, to find out the Members who had
“ given him Offence; such a Strain of va-

“pouring and blustering, such an Insult
 “and Indignity has not been offered to us.
 “Are we to be slandered or tutored, or in-
 “structed in the Principles of Morals, by
 “His Majesty’s Cabinet Ministers?”——“O
 “wise Ministers! *Dii Tibi Tonsorem do-*
nent! To all except *one*, who has no
 “Occasion for such a Practitioner.” The
 Allusion to Pitt’s *Youth*, could not escape
 Notice. After paying nevertheless some
 Compliments to the Integrity of the young
 Chancellor of the Exchequer, which were
 all made however at the Expence of the
 First Lord of the Treasury; Burke de-
 clared that the only proper Description of
 the Speech, which the Minister had made the
 Sovereign pronounce, was to be found in
 Hudibras, when he says,

“As if Hypocrisy and Nonsense

“Had got th’ Advowson of his Conscience.”

Nor was Fox less severe in his Animad-
 versions on this first Production of the Earl
 of Shelburne in his ministerial Capacity,
 though he was more argumentative, grave,
 and measured in his Censures. On General
 Eliott, and on Lord Howe, he bestowed the
 highest Encomiums:—Encomiums, which

were re-echoed from every Part of the House! Having again recapitulated all the Circumstances that attended and produced his own Secession from the Cabinet, he endeavoured to shew that his Resignation, by forcing the Ministers to grant unconditional Independence to America, had been productive of far greater Advantages to his Country, than he could have rendered by remaining a Member of Administration. With great Ingenuity and Severity he pointed out Lord Shelburne's inconsistent *Declarations*, many Times repeated in the Upper House, that "He who should sign the Independence of America, would consummate the Ruin of his own Country, and must be a Traitor;" now contrasted with his *Act* in setting his Hand to their complete Emancipation. Such a contradictory Language, coupled with his opposite System of Conduct, could only, Fox observed, be properly characterized by two Lines which he had somewhere read,

"You've done a noble Turn in Nature's Spite;
"For tho' you think you're wrong,—I'm sure you're
right."

Pitt, however, who, in a Speech of equal Ability, though much less diffuse, answered

Fox on that Evening ; having defended his Principal from the heavy Imputations affixed to his political Line of Action, in acknowledging American Independence, after his many Protestations to the contrary ; added, “ If I may attempt a Parody on the Lines just quoted, I should say,

“ The Praise he gives us is in Nature’s Spite.

“ He wishes we were wrong,—but, clearly sees we’re right.”

The Promptitude and Elegance of this Retort, made amidst the Hurry and Distractions of a long Debate, in a crowded Assembly, excited no little Admiration. Nor did he touch with less Delicacy and Force of Reasoning, on the Circumstance of his own *Youth* ; “ a Calamity under which, he owned, “ he laboured ; which he could not sufficiently lament, as it afforded such Subject “ of Animadversion to his Opponents ; but, “ for which Defect, he pledged himself to “ atone, by his Care, Industry, and Assi- “ duity in the public Service.” If it had not been demonstrated already, how great an Acquisition Lord Shelburne had made in the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Debates of the 5th and 6th of December, would

have sufficiently proved the Fact. Courtenay, when alluding to it, a few Days afterwards, observed, "The noble Earl at the
" Head of the Treasury, has shewn his
" Judgment in securing such an Auxiliary.
" Every Man reposes Confidence in *Him*.
" There is a Species of Magic in the Name
" and Lineage of a *Pitt*, which must pro-
" duce its Influence on the Nation. The
" First Minister, who is himself a great Phi-
" losopher, has, no doubt, been informed by
" Dr. Priestley, that the best Mode of cor-
" recting and purifying corrupted Air, is by
" the Introduction of a young Vegetable."

Lord North never appeared to me, during the whole Time that I sate in the House of Commons, whether he was in, or out of Office, in a more dignified and elevated Point of View, than on the first of those two Evenings. I mean, the 5th of December. His Position was singular; standing aloof equally from Ministers and from the Rockingham Party; holding the Balance between both; placed on a Sort of Elevation, by the Events which had taken Place since he resigned his Employment; sustained by the glorious Victories of Rod-

ney and of Eliott; no longer menaced with Impeachment; animated by steady Loyalty to his Sovereign, and not less propelled by Attachment to his Country. Such was his Situation, and his Language corresponded with it! Perhaps it would have been fortunate, if he had continued to occupy so advantageous, independent, and patriotic an Eminence, without lending an Ear to the Seductions of Ambition or of Resentment, in forming a Coalition with Fox, as he did only two Months later. Unquestionably he would have appeared more an Object of Respect and Veneration to Posterity, by persisting in such a Line of political Action; superior to Party, watchful over the Constitution, and attentive only to the great public Interests of the State; than by accepting a secondary Situation, as the Colleague of Fox, under the Duke of Portland. A Situation, which, when obtained, he was unable to retain more than a few Months; and in accepting which, he must have made some Sacrifices of Feeling and of Recollection, if not of Principle! The Speech which he pronounced on the first Day of the Session, was every Way worthy of himself; and breathed the genuine Spirit of a States-

man, who though no longer directing the Machine, yet superintended its Movements with undiminished Zeal, as well as Ability. In Contradiction to his usual Style of speaking, he abstained from all Levity, and refused to avail himself of those Resources of Wit and Humour, which he had always at Command. No Sentiment of Hostility or of Animosity towards the new Administration, characterized his Expressions. He declared that he felt not the most distant Inclination to oppose the Address, or to move any Amendment, as the Advantages accruing from Unanimity at the present Moment, would, in a national Point of View, be incalculable. From the Instant that he rose till he sate down, not a Word escaped his Lips, which indicated the smallest Approach towards the Rockingham Party. On Fox he was even severe, when differing from him respecting various Points of the greatest public Importance. Nor did he spare Burke, for his Animadversions on the *Prayer* of the Sovereign contained in the Speech from the Throne. “ Surely, Mr. Speaker,” said Lord “ North, a Heart animated by patriotic Feel-
“ ings, like that of His Majesty, must experi-
“ ence the deepest Sorrow, at an Act so calamitous

“ tous to this Country, as is the Relinquish-
“ ment of America. His Sensations are
“ truly those of a Patriot King; and I am
“ assured that he felt far less for himself,
“ when he made so great a Sacrifice, than he
“ felt for his People.”

On the Conditions of Peace which the Enemy might offer, or which it became the Ministers to accept, Lord North expressed himself in Language of equal Dignity, Wisdom, and Moderation. “ To just and reasonable Terms,” said he, “ I will most cheerfully assent; but, should France or Spain display Arrogance and Injustice in their Demands, every Man in this Assembly, and throughout the Nation, will, I am persuaded, zealously concur in prosecuting the War with Vigour.”—“ We unanimously demand an honourable Treaty, or a vigorous War. We are ready to negotiate on fair and equitable Principles; but, if in their Insolence or imaginary Power, the Enemy exact degrading Conditions, we are determined to maintain the Contest with our Lives and Fortunes.” In Terms of Earnestness he recommended to the Ministers, Attention in marking out proper,

well defined Boundaries, between the Territory of Great Britain and the American Frontier ; but, above all, he trusted, that they would provide an Asylum for the loyal and unhappy Sufferers, who, throughout this long protracted Struggle, had remained faithful to their native Sovereign. Over Lord Shelburne he threw a Shield, and justified his Assertion, that “ the Sun of Britain was for ever set, when the Separation of the thirteen Colonies should be signed.” “ That calamitous Event,” observed he, “ cannot justly be charged to the present First Minister, merely because he consummates the Deed. It is we, not he, who must sustain the Culpability. If the Sun of England is indeed set, the House of Commons is the Magician who has brought it down from the Skies.” No Part of this admirable Speech justly attracted more Approbation, than the Part in which he replied to Fox, who had attributed to Keppel’s Exertions, the Advantages which we had gained on the Element of the Water. “ It is not a little extraordinary,” said Lord North, “ that the same Person, who, when he came into Office, eight Months ago, drew a Picture of our naval Condition, sufficient to make

“ every Man tremble in this House ; should
“ now stoutly affirm that our Navy is equal to
“ combating the united Fleets of the House
“ of Bourbon ! But, as Ships do not spring
“ up, like Mushrooms, in a Night ;—by what
“ Magic could so great an Addition be made
“ to our Navy within one Summer, unless
“ the former Admiralty, by their Prepara-
“ tions of Ships and Stores, had facilitated
“ the Means of Victory ?—I would say to the
“ present naval Alexander, True, you have
“ conquered ; but, you have conquered with
“ Philip’s Troops.” During the whole of
the two Debates which took Place at the
Opening of the Session, though General
Conway and Mr. Secretary Townsend oc-
casionally rose, yet the Defence of the mini-
sterial Measures principally rested on the
Chancellor of the Exchequer. No Admi-
nistration could commence under fairer Au-
spices, which was destined to terminate so
soon ; not any Attempt to divide the House
being made either by Lord North or by
Fox, who appeared to be reciprocally ani-
mated by the most hostile Sentiments.

[11th December.] Among the Weapons of
Attack which the Rockingham Party di-

rected with most Success against the First Minister, was the Imputation of Insincerity or Duplicity. It was asserted that *He* interpreted the conditional or provisional Articles concluded with the American States, in a different Sense from the Meaning annexed to them by other Members of the Cabinet; Lord Shelburne, it was pretended, regarding them as capable of being revoked or annulled, in Case that the pending Negotiations respecting Peace between England and France, should be finally broken off; while Pitt, Conway, and Townsend, declared that they were, in every Event, final and irrevocable. Unquestionably, some Reasons for Doubt as to the Interpretation of the Word *provisional*, might be reasonably entertained; and as the War with America might be revived, if the Independence of the Trans-Atlantic States was not *unconditionally* and unequivocally acknowledged by Great Britain, Fox endeavoured to probe this ministerial Wound. He did not indeed venture to divide the House upon it, nor attempt to stop the Supplies, because he knew how insufficient was his Parliamentary Strength, for making either of those Experiments with Success. But, he endeavoured

to extort a clear Reply from some of the Ministers, relative to the Point under Discussion. They, on the other Hand, refused or declined making any specific Answer during the actual State of Affairs, and demanded Time. Burke, in his metaphorical and figurative Language, compared them to the Amphisbæna, which Naturalists describe as having two Heads, one at each Extremity. "Such a Serpent, I hope," added he, "exists only in Chimera: but, Ministers resemble such an Animal. They hiss "an opposite Language from the Head, and "from the Tail, so that the Nation is confounded between their contradictory Stories." Even Lord North, though he approved of the Silence observed by the Treasury Bench, under the Circumstances of the Moment; and though he further declared, that if any Motion was made for compelling the Administration to lay the provisional Treaty before Parliament, he would give it his Negative; yet admitted that its Interpretation was exceedingly problematical. As the Rockingham Party was too feeble to come to Extremities, unless sustained by Lord North, Fox contented himself therefore with laying on the First Minister, the

heaviest Charges of double Dealing in all his Proceedings. Powis, who joined in these Opinions, said that he held the three Members of the Cabinet who had Seats in the House, pledged as Hostages to the Country, for the Ratification of the provisional Treaty according to *their* Construction of it. Such Reflections thrown on the Earl of Shelburne, however they might originate in the Violence of Party, and of political Enmity; yet, as impeaching the Candour and the Rectitude of his public Conduct, must have been equally painful to that Nobleman himself, and to his Associates in the Government.

[12th December.] Though Parliament sat for only a very short Period during the Month of December, scarcely exceeding a Fortnight, previous to their Adjournment till after Christmas; yet, one very interesting Debate, which arose in the House of Commons, produced a material Operation on some Articles of the Peace then negotiating with the House of Bourbon. Rumours, which acquired considerable, if not implicit Credit, were circulated throughout the Metropolis, stating that Lord Shelburne had not only manifested a Disposition, but, had

even consented, with the Approbation of the Cabinet, to cede Gibraltar to Spain, on certain Conditions. He had indeed very early felt the Pulse of Parliament, on the Subject. Mr. Bankes, Member for Corfe Castle, who seconded the Address to the Throne, on the first Day of the Session ; and who seems to have been more deeply initiated in the Secrets, or informed of the Intentions of Administration, than the Mover of the Address on that Occasion ; alluded in very clear and intelligible, though in general Terms, to the possible, or rather probable Cession of the Fortress in Question. He accompanied the Intimation, with Remarks on the great Expence, and little comparative Value or national Advantages, connected with retaining its Possession. Fox instantly animadverted with equal Force and Severity, on the Idea thus suggested, which he held up to Condemnation, as an Act most pernicious to the State, if it should ever be carried into Execution. In Language of Energy he depicted the Respect, which our proud Position on that isolated Rock, excited among the European Nations. “ Cede to Spain,” exclaimed he, “ Gibraltar, and the Mediterranean becomes a Pool ; a mere Pond, on

“ which the Spaniards can navigate at their
“ Pleasure! Deprive yourselves of this com-
“ manding Station, and the States that bor-
“ der on that Sea, will no longer look to
“ England for the Maintenance of its free
“ Navigation!” Nor did he let pass the Occa-
sion of wounding George the Third, through
the Sides of the King of Spain. Adverting
to the Opinion which had been given by Mr.
Bankes, in the Course of his Speech, that
“ the Cabinet of Madrid having ascertained
“ the Folly and Impracticability of attempt-
“ ing to reduce Gibraltar, by their recent
“ Discomfiture, would never again employ
“ the Forces of the Monarchy on so vain, as
“ well as ruinous a Siege;” Fox exposed
the Fallacy of such Arguments. “ There
“ may be,” observed he, “ near the Heart of
“ every Prince, a Longing after some Ob-
“ ject, which a thousand Disappointments or
“ Defeats cannot remove. Those who re-
“ collect the History of this Country for near
“ nine Years past, will agree with me, that
“ it is not easy to convince Men of their Fol-
“ lies, even when Experience has proved
“ them to be such. We have persisted
“ through many ruinous Campaigns, in a
“ War for the Subjection of the American

“ Colonies. What then should hinder us
“ from believing, that Charles the Third may
“ not persevere as pertinaciously in his Long-
“ ing for the Reduction of Gibraltar, as a
“ *Sovereign nearer Home, was taught to pur-
“ sue the Phantom of unconditional Submis-
“ sion from America?*” The very Truth of
this Observation, which could not well be
contested, ought to have prevented Fox
from making it in so public a Place.

Burke, supporting with all the Powers of
his Eloquence, the Positions advanced by
his Friend, trusted that Ministers would not
dare to sport with the Feelings of the Na-
tion, respecting an Object so justly cherished
as Gibraltar. “ That Fortress,” said he,
“ is invaluable, because impregnable. The
“ Sovereign of Spain has not an Appendage
“ of his Crown, equalling it in Importance.
“ The Capitals of Mexico and Peru are not
“ at his Disposal; and the Island of Porto
“ Rico, if offered, would by no means form
“ an adequate Compensation. Gibraltar is
“ not merely a Post of Pride. It is a Post of
“ Power, of Connexion, and of Commerce.”
In Terms more measured, Lord North ap-
preciated its Value. “ I will not go so far

“ as to assert,” observed he, “ that Gibraltar is inestimable, and in no possible Case ought to be ceded to Spain. If Peace cannot otherwise be obtained, such a Sacrifice may become necessary ; but, its Price should be large, and no Ministers would be justified in resigning a Possession so honorable, so useful, as well as so dear to this Country, unless for an Equivalent of the highest Importance.” The Offers made by Charles the Third, were indeed of such a Nature, as in the Estimation of many able Men, would have fully justified Ministers in restoring to the Catholic King, that expensive Fortress. I have been assured, that in his Eagerness to re-annex Gibraltar to the Spanish Monarchy, he tendered in Exchange for it, the Canary Islands, together with Porto Rico in the West Indies : the former of which Possessions, from their happy Situation in the Atlantic, their Climate, and Productions, might be rendered most valuable Acquisitions to Great Britain ; while the latter Island must be considered as scarcely inferior to Jamaica in Extent, Fertility, and political Importance. Gibraltar, however dear to the national Vanity, and whatever flattering Recollections, the late

glorious Defence might awaken; could not, it was imagined, be put in Competition with the Canaries and Porto Rico. In a commercial Point of View, no Comparison could indeed be made between the two Possessions: but, as an Object of national Consideration, Respect, and Power, we shall probably admit that Gibraltar would have been ill exchanged for any Atlantic, or West India Islands. I am of that Sentiment in 1818, though I am ready to confess that I thought otherwise in 1782.

Sir George Howard, who was himself a General Officer, having nevertheless unexpectedly provoked, and brought forward in the House of Commons, a Discussion relative to that Fortress, and the Possibility that its Cession or Alienation to Spain, might be in Contemplation; it soon appeared, that Men of all Parties were imbued with Partialities so warm and violent in its Favour, and such Indignation was manifested at the bare Idea of ceding it, even for any Equivalent however valuable, that the Intention was relinquished. Nothing could assuredly have been further from Sir George's Intention, who was an excellent Courtier,

than to have agitated any Subject, which in its Results might embarrass the Councils of the Crown. But, General Conway having moved the Thanks of the House to General Elliott, for his glorious Defence of Gibraltar, Howard proposed adding, “ the most valuable and important Fortress of all our foreign Territories.” These few Words operated like the Apple of Discord, and afforded to Opposition an ample Field for Declamation. Lord North was not present on that Evening, but Fox instantly availed himself of the Occasion. Sir George finding, that while he had only intended to place General Elliott’s public Merits in the fairest Point of View, by demonstrating the Importance of his Services, the Motion had produced a great political Question, would willingly have withdrawn his Amendment. Fox however expressed the utmost Disinclination to consent. “ I do not, myself,” said he, “ credit the Reports of an intended Cession of Gibraltar, because I am convinced that there is not in the Cabinet, a single Man who dares to give it up. The Amendment, if it should be carried, will convince the Public at large, how false are these Rumours: but, it will likewise

“ prove to the Spanish Government, that
“ the Nation is not disposed to permit of
“ such a Cession.” Burke maintained the
same Arguments; and Mr. Daniel Parker
Coke declared, that he would rather cut off
his right Hand, than ever consent to restore
Gibraltar. Sir George Howard’s Amend-
ment was nevertheless finally withdrawn, by
Consent of the House; but, the Substance of
the Debate having been taken down in short
Hand, by a Person stationed in the Gallery,
and immediately communicated to Lord
Shelburne; he dispatched a Messenger with
it, the next Morning, to our Minister at Paris,
Mr. Fitzherbert, now Lord St. Helens: en-
joining him to lay it before the Count de
Vergennes, and the Count d’Aranda. I
know from good Authority, that the latter
Nobleman, who was then the Spanish Em-
bassador at the Court of Versailles, had re-
ceived the most positive Instructions not to
sign any Peace with Great Britain, however
favourable the Terms might be in other Re-
spects, unless the Cession of Gibraltar, con-
stituted one of the Articles of the Treaty.
Finding nevertheless, after the Communica-
tion above mentioned, that no Equivalent
would be accepted for its Restitution; and

that the British Cabinet did not dare to do it in Violation of public Opinion; d'Aranda, in Disobedience to these Orders, finally affixed his Name to the Act, taking on himself the Risk and the Responsibility.

[13th—23d December.] Previous to the Adjournment of the House of Commons before Christmas, Fox made another ineffectual Attempt to compel the Production of the provisional Treaty with America. The Debate which took Place on this Occasion, being in Fact the last that arose of an important Nature, previous to the Peace with our European Enemies; and consequently, previous to the Union of Lord North with the Rockingham Party; was distinguished by some very interesting Circumstances. Fox grounded his Motion for laying the Treaty in Question, before the House, on the notorious Disagreement between the first Lord of the Treasury, and his Colleagues in the Cabinet, on its Acceptation; Lord Shelburne declaring it to be revocable, if Peace should not be finally made with France, while others of the Ministers maintained it to be, in every Event, final. Such a discordant Exhibition of Sentiment on so important a

Point, seemed to call for some Explanation or Disclosure on the Part of Administration. Fox, however, well aware how weak was his numerical Strength within those Walls, unless sustained by Lord North; after endeavouring to justify his Demand of the Treaty, on Principles of public Expediency; added, “ I expect Support in my Motion, though I do not court it. I do not indeed know whether I may calculate on the Aid of the noble Lord in the blue Ribband, seated below me; as, by a strange Mode of reasoning, he brings himself to vote with Ministers, though he totally disagrees with Them in Opinion.” The Treasury Bench preserving a profound Silence, Mr. Thomas Pitt moved the *Order of the Day*; at the same Time advising and adjuring his ministerial Friends, not to violate their Oath as Privy Councillors, since nothing except Misconstruction and Misrepresentation could arise from their Explanations. At this Period of the Discussion Lord North presented himself to the Speaker’s Notice, and delivered one of the most entertaining Speeches ever heard in that Assembly. Never, I believe, was more Wit crowded into so narrow a Compass! Every

Sentence conveyed the most delicate Irony, or the most contumelious, yet amusing, Ridicule. He began by lamenting that Mr. Thomas Pitt's wholesome and sage Advice to his Friends, on the Subject of observing Discretion and Secrecy, should have come too late to be of any Use, they having already been guilty of divulging their Opinions. Having expressed his Concern that it was impossible to agree with a divided Cabinet, *collectively*; he said he would nevertheless agree with them *partially*, and vote for the Order of the Day; as he should at least be sure of coinciding with those Members of Administration who sat opposite to him. "For," added he, "though I perfectly agree with the Right Honorable Gentleman, (Fox,) in all his Statements and Principles, yet I cannot think the present Moment a seasonable one for producing the provisional Articles." With inconceivable Humour he contrasted, and exposed the different *Versions* of the Treaty; first, as presented in the King's Speech from the Throne, at the Opening of the Session; next, in Lord Shelburne's Language; and lastly, in the Declarations of the other Ministers. "I prefer, however," said he, "the Edi-

“ tion of this Matter, as we have it on *Royal*
“ *Paper*, before all the subsequent Editions,
“ *cum Notis Variorum*, which have been
“ since published.” On the Subject of that
Oath, to the strict Observance of which the
Members of the Cabinet were entreated to
adhere, he made some Observations so lu-
dicrous, as put all Gravity to Flight. “ If,”
observed he, “ this mysterious Treaty de-
“ pended on no Contingency whatever, it
“ would resemble, not a Privy Counsel-
“ lor’s Oath, of which we have heard so
“ much to-day ; but, a much less serious
“ Oath, of which we have all heard, and
“ which some of us may probably have
“ taken. I mean, the Oath administered at
“ Highgate, by which a Man swears that he
“ never will drink small Beer, when he can
“ get strong, unless he likes the former best ;
“ nor ever kiss the Maid, when he might
“ kiss the Mistress, unless he chuse the
“ Maid in Preference.”

Continuing, or rather, resuming his Speech,
as soon as the House had recovered from the
violent Effect of this Simile on their Muscles,
he directed his Artillery of Jests against
the Cabinet, of which three Members were

present. “ It has been asserted,” observed Lord North, “ that the contradictory Opinions of Ministers might be reduced to some Certainty, by subjecting them to the Wisdom of this Assembly. I cannot think so :—for, surely the present Cabinet is the Place where we might expect, of all others, unanimous Agreement on Matters of State Policy. It is composed of eleven Men, of distinguished Talents, immense Wisdom, consummate Experience, and determined Firmness. This Assemblage of Genius has besides as many more Agents or Commissioners now employed at Paris, on the important Work of Peace. If such Men are not able to fix the determinate Import and Meaning of the Treaty before us; how can we expect it to be done within our Walls? I have heard this House called the Temple of Eloquence, of Reason, of Freedom, and of Fame: but I never yet knew it to be called the Temple of Concord.” As, however, though Lord North had held up the Administration to Ridicule, and had so pointedly *spoken against* them, he nevertheless declared his Intention to *vote for* them; I believe, Fox would not have divided the House, if General Conway had

not provoked him to it, by asserting on his Legs, that “ the Member who had originated “ the Debate, would not dare to take the “ Sense of the House, well knowing by how “ small a Minority he would be attended “ into the Lobby.” Irritated at such an Insinuation, of which he expressed his indignant Sense, Fox persisted ; and a Division taking Place on Mr. Thomas Pitt’s Motion for *the Order of the Day*, the Rockingham Party could only muster forty-six Votes. Government, supported by Lord North and his Adherents, exhibited a triumphant Majority of Two Hundred and Nineteen, thus carrying the Question by One Hundred and seventy-three. It is difficult to determine with any Certainty, the respective Numbers that voted with Administration, and with Lord North, on that Evening. I should however estimate the Followers of the latter, at seventy to eighty. That he could incline the Balance to which ever Side he pleased, was evident. He appeared indeed, throughout the whole Debate, not only pre-eminent in Talents of every Description ; but, as the Arbiter of the Scene. Like Henry the Eighth, he might have assumed for his Device, “ *Cui adhæreo, præest.*” Nor could

Fox avoid perceiving that his own Way into the Cabinet, unless he chose to serve under Lord Shelburne, must lie through Lord North's Assistance, and could be effected by no other Mode. That Nobleman, since the Day on which he resigned his Power, had not occupied a more dignified Place in the public Eye, and in Parliamentary Estimation. These Facts, and the Reflections to which they necessarily gave Rise, produced within two Months, the memorable *Coalition*. A few Days subsequent to the above Debate, an Adjournment of the two Houses of Parliament took Place till the 23rd of January.

[1783, January.] Throughout a considerable Part of the Month of January, the greatest Fluctuation of public Opinion prevailed relative to the final Success of the Treaties agitating at Paris; and as late as the 18th, the Queen's Birth-Day, the prevalent Ideas in the Drawing-room, were generally adverse to the Probability of a favourable Issue: but, five Days afterwards, Intelligence arrived in London, that Peace had been signed at Versailles. Lord Keppel, either from Repentance of his Conduct in

having quitted Fox after the Marquis of Rockingham's Decease; or suspicious of the approaching Dissolution of the actual Ministry; or, (as he asserted afterwards on the Debate which took Place in the House of Peers,) disapproving the Articles of the Treaty recently concluded; immediately resigned his Employment of First Lord of the Admiralty. He was succeeded by Lord Howe, and early in the Month of February, the Marquis of Carmarthen was named Ambassador to the Court of France. Though the House of Commons met on the 21st of January, pursuant to its Adjournment, yet no Business of Moment was brought forward, either by Ministers, or by their Opponents, during the considerable Interval of near a Month which elapsed, previous to the Day fixed for discussing the Articles of the Peace, in both Houses of Parliament. They had intermediately been exchanged and ratified by the two Governments. A more than ordinary Interest was excited on the Subject, throughout the Nation; the Stability or Dismission of the Administration, evidently depending on the parliamentary Approval or Disapprobation of the Treaty. In the House of Lords, there seemed to be, indeed,

little Danger of incurring a Vote of Censure. But, it was otherwise in the Lower House, where the Minister, in Addition to his own slender personal Strength, and the Individuals holding Offices under the Crown, could only expect Support, either from Persons inclined to maintain indifferently every Government; or from those independent Members, who, disregarding all Motives of Party, might be induced to approve the Treaties, on the Ground of their abstract Merits, and their just Claim to national Gratitude.

Facts such as these, which were palpable to all, could not possibly escape the Attention of him who was most deeply interested in their Result. And it has always appeared to Persons uninformed, one of the most inexplicable Events of our Time, that Lord Shelburne, who must have perceived the great Improbability of his being able to maintain himself in Power, after the Conclusion of Peace, without the Aid of one or the other of the two great Parties in Opposition; should nevertheless have allowed Parliament to meet for the express Purpose of discussing the Merits of the Peace, without conciliat-

ing previously the Leaders of either Side. Was he then indifferent to the Preservation of that Office, which he had acquired with so much Address, and not unaccompanied with a Degree of Obloquy? No Person can believe or suppose it. Neither his Adherents nor his Enemies, ever maintained such an Opinion. How therefore are we to interpret a Conduct so contrary to all the Dictates of Ambition, Policy, and Self-interest? In Order to explain it, I shall state such Circumstances as have been related to me by Individuals possessing Information, which will at least throw considerable Light upon the Subject.

It seemed certainly most natural, that of the two Parties excluded from Power, Lord Shelburne should have addressed himself to that Body of Men, which still considered Lord North as its Head. To many of the Individuals composing it, I know that he did in Fact make Advances, either personally, or by his Friends. Mr. Orde, the Secretary of the Treasury, in whose Department lay the *Management* of the House of Commons, was not idle during the Autumn of 1782. The American War being ter-

minated, the principal Object of Disunion between the late, and the present, First Minister, was at an End. Lord Shelburne was moreover known to have pertinaciously resisted the Concession of Independence to America. His Reluctance and pretended Duplicity, or rather his Ambiguity, relative to granting *unconditional* Independence to the thirteen Colonies, formed one of the most prominent Points of Accusation against him, on the Part of Fox and the Rockingham Party. It could not be doubted that the King, who, availing himself of favourable Circumstances, had elevated the First Lord of the Treasury, to the Place that he held; and who deprecated no Event so much, as being a second Time compelled to take Fox into his Councils; would secretly approve, and would sincerely promote, any Measure tending to exclude him from Administration. Of all political Unions that could be effected with a View to strengthen the Ministry, an Alliance between Lord North and Lord Shelburne, it was therefore assumed, must be most agreeable to the Sovereign. Nor, as I have been assured, did there exist any insurmountable personal Antipathies or Impediments between those two noble Persons, which could have prevented such an Event

taking Place. But though *They* might have been willing to coalesce, there were other Individuals in the Government, not possessed of so tractable or so conciliating a Disposition. Mr. Pitt, and the Duke of Richmond, both inflexibly refused to sit in Cabinet with Lord North; and they remained firm upon the Point.

Partial as I am to the Memory and Character of that amiable Nobleman, I am far from blaming their Determination. They considered Lord North as the Minister, who during many Years had carried on and supported by his parliamentary Ability, a Contest become hopeless, which had precipitated Great Britain into Disgrace, as well as Debt. His Subserviency to the royal Will or Wishes, even if proved, would only in their Eyes, have aggravated his Culprability. They regarded the Loss of our American Colonies, as the necessary Consequence of his Councils, or of his Administration. He was besides accused by them, of having made Parliament the corrupt Instrument of his Policy, and of having purchased the Support which he received in both Houses. Political Principle therefore dictated and produced their Refusal to asso-

ciate him to their Ministry. Such an Obstacle was neither to be surmounted, nor to be removed. The Duke of Richmond might, indeed, have been dismissed, without Apprehension of its producing very injurious Results of any Kind : but Mr. Pitt was essential to the ministerial Existence and Duration. His high Character and his *Name*, joined to his eminent Talents, formed Lord Shelburne's best Security for carrying any Measure through the House of Commons. Neither Townsend nor Conway, possessed the Eloquence, Ability, or hereditary Weight, that met in the Chancellor of the Exchequer. If, therefore, in order to gain Lord North, the First Lord of the Treasury had thrown Pitt into Opposition, no Exertions could have long resisted his and Fox's united Attacks, fighting Side by Side. And the House itself would probably, nay infallibly, have reprobated such a Junction, when attained by the Expulsion of Pitt from Power. These Causes prevented any Attempt being made to gain Lord North's Support, by admitting him and his principal Friends to Places in the Cabinet ; and his Friendship, it was obvious, could not be obtained on inferior Terms.

[21st January — 15th February.] The strongest Indications were meanwhile given on the Part of Fox's Adherents, as well as by some of the Friends of Lord North, that they intended to attack and to arraign the Treaties of Peace just concluded. No sooner had the Preliminaries signed between England and the two Branches of the House of Bourbon, together with the provisional Articles made with America, been brought down to the House of Commons, and read by the Clerk; than Mr. Eden instantly rose, to express the Feelings of Concern, or rather, of Indignation and Distress, with which the fifth Article of the American Treaty, inspired him. It regarded the Loyalists, who, as appeared from the Nature of the Provisions, were abandoned by Great Britain, and left exposed to the severest Treatment from the Provincial Assemblies. This Circumstance took Place on the 27th of January. Four Days later, Fox, in Answer to some Remarks which fell from General Conway, on the Subject of the recent Pacification; observed, that though he did not mean to anticipate the Consideration of the Treaties, for which Discussion a proper Time would be appointed, yet, that he did not consider it to be

as good a Peace as might have been made by Ministers. Eden entered his Protest on the same Evening, against the Cession of a vast Portion of Canada, comprehending no less than eighteen Thousand square Miles; declaring it to be his Opinion, that in dis severing so large a Territory from the Empire, Administration had violated a positive Act of Parliament. On the 10th of February, Fox, while alluding to the Preliminaries, said, that they did not bear on their Face, their Justification. Lord Nugent, though generally disposed to support Government, yet spoke in Language of the utmost Violence, on the Subject of the Loyalists. "If His Majesty's Ministers," exclaimed he, "have omitted any possible Exertion in Favor of those unfortunate Men, no Punishment can be adequate to their Crime. Their Blood alone can wipe away the Stain inflicted on the Honor of their Country." Governor Johnstone repeated these Denunciations, in scarcely milder Terms: while Sheridan, who already seemed to fix on Pitt, as an Object of his personal Reprehension and Attack whenever a favorable Occasion arose, exhorted the Chancellor of the Exchequer not to speak in so high a Tone from the Treasury Bench.

“ If,” added Sheridan, “ he and his Col-
“ leagues had held as lofty a Style to the
“ Enemies of Great Britain, during the late
“ Discussions relative to Peace, as they do
“ here, they would not be compelled to
“ stand so much on the defensive, as they
“ probably must do, when the Examination
“ of the Preliminaries comes before us.”
Every Circumstance announced a Determination to push Matters to Extremity, and if possible, to drive the Ministers from their Posts, for having sacrificed the Honor, as well as the Interests of Great Britain, in the recent Treaties.

Lord Shelburne, conscious of the approaching Danger, and desirous of averting a Parliamentary Conflict so doubtful in its Issue, caused Overtures of a conciliatory Nature to be made to Fox; offering to replace him in his late Office, and to provide for his Friends or Connexions who had followed him out of Power after Lord Rockingham's Decease. The King was induced, though reluctantly, to allow and to approve of the Proposals, on the Ground of State Necessity; it being esteemed a less serious Evil, to admit Fox into the Cabinet by Ne-

gotiation, than to incur the Risk of his entering it by Storm. In the first Case, he would remain still in a Minority, while the Treasury would be completely independent of him; whereas in the second Event, he would dictate the Law. But, Fox, though he professed himself willing to make a Part of an Administration formed upon a broad Basis, and therefore disposed to listen to the Proposition, exacted one indispensable Preliminary; namely, Lord Shelburne's Dismission or Resignation. Unless the Treasury were placed in the Hands of the Duke of Portland, as the new recognized Head of the Rockingham Party; and unless Lord Shelburne were wholly excluded from a Place in the Cabinet, he peremptorily refused to accede to any Terms of Accommodation. With all the other principal Individuals composing the Ministry, he declared his Readiness to act; but, personally to Lord Shelburne, his Repugnance continued insurmountable, and could not be removed by any Efforts.

In embracing this Determination, it seems impossible to doubt that he was more impelled by Passion;—in using which Term, I

mean Rivalry, Party Feelings, and personal Aversion to the First Lord of the Treasury ;—than by moral or political Principle. Even his Secession from the Cabinet, in July, 1782, though it *originated* in a Difference of Opinion on a great State Question of the deepest Importance, namely the Grant of unconditional Independence to America ; yet was *consummated* from Resentment and Precipitation. Probably he regretted it when too late :—for, it was proved by Facts, that, whatever Lord Shelburne might have meditated or even declared, relative to not conceding Independence to the Trans-Atlantic Colonies, he was over-ruled, and compelled by the Cabinet, to carry into Execution that humiliating Measure. Nay more, we have the Authority of General Conway, when addressing the House of Commons on the Subject, for asserting, that the First Minister not only overcame and subdued his own Reluctance to declaring the American States independent ; but, by his Arguments or Persuasions prevailed on the King his Master, to surmount his strongly rooted Antipathy to the same Act of Renunciation. Fox, indeed, always asserted and maintained, that his Resignation of Office had produced more

Benefit to the Country, and had operated more powerfully to force Lord Shelburne's Acquiescence on the Point in Question, than he could have done by remaining a Member of the Cabinet. But, it is evident that he did not lie under any Necessity of throwing up his Employment, or of sacrificing his Principles. It never arrived at that Alternative, for which he ought to have waited, before he came to Extremities. If he had temperately and steadily opposed the First Minister ; appealing to his Colleagues, Lord Keppel, Conway, and the Duke of Richmond, for Support ; sustained, as he was, by Lord John Cavendish ; the Earl of Shelburne must have given way, or he would have been left in a Minority. No Doubt, Fox's Secession, and Appeal to the House of Commons, or rather, to the Nation, forced the First Minister, as well as his Colleagues, to concede unequivocally Independence to America. But, if Fox had been more Master of himself, and less under the Dominion of Anger, or of the Desire to dictate in the Cabinet, he might have effected his Object by a Menace of Resignation, and yet have retained the Seal. In forming an Alliance with Lord North, as he soon afterwards did,

he made a far greater Surrender of Principle, and at the same Time shocked public Opinion much more, than he could possibly have done by acting with Lord Shelburne, whatever Measures had been adopted by Administration.

Such, as I have always understood, were the leading Principles or Circumstances, on which was subsequently reared that celebrated Junction between Lord North and Fox, which, from its extraordinary Nature, and more extraordinary Effects, has obtained in English History, by way of Distinction from all other political Unions or Alliances ever contracted in our Time, the name of "*The Coalition*." The Proscription of Lord North by Pitt, and of Lord Shelburne by Fox, of Necessity drove the two excluded Ministers into each other's Arms; at once obliterated all past Causes of Offence between them; and impelled them, banishing every Retrospect, as well as in some Measure setting general Opinion at Defiance, only to look forward to the joint Possession of Power. As the 17th of February stood fixed for the Consideration of the Articles of Peace, in both Houses of Parlia-

ment; and as Lord North disapproved of many of those Articles, no less strongly than Fox; it became obvious that they must, in all Cases, divide together on that Night, against the Administration. And if they should find themselves in a Majority, as was highly probable, it seemed to follow that the Ministers must retire from Office. But, in order to avail themselves of their Triumph, and to form a new Administration, some mutual Understanding, if not some Principles of permanent Accommodation, became absolutely necessary to both Individuals. Otherwise, however victorious they might prove in Parliament, they would probably derive no Benefit from their Superiority; and Lord Shelburne, though vanquished in the House of Commons, might still contrive to retain his Seat in the Cabinet, as First Minister.

These Considerations, in themselves most forcible, acquiring hourly Strength as the Day approached for the Discussion of the Peace, produced some Symptoms of mutual Tendency towards Reconciliation. Never, perhaps, did two Men exist, more inclined by Nature to Oblivion of Injuries, or to Sen-

timents of Forgiveness, than Lord North and Fox ! The latter, whatever might be his Defects of Character, possessed in an eminent Degree, Placability and Magnanimity of Mind. “ *Amicitiae sempiternæ, Inimicitiae placabiles,*” was a Maxim always in his Mouth. The former, too indolent to retain the Burthen of Enmity, and conscious that Fox’s Hostility towards him, had always been more political than personal ; gladly deposited his Resentments, his Recollections, and his Injuries, at the Feet of his Interest and Ambition. Both equally concurred in the Necessity of agreeing on some Plan of concerted Action, before they took their Places, Side by Side, on the Opposition Bench. Hitherto, though Lord North usually or always sate there, Fox continued to speak from the third Bench, as did Burke. But, however deeply they might be impressed with these Feelings, they nevertheless abstained from any direct Interview, leaving all Matters to the Intervention of mutual Friends. The Honorable George Augustus North, eldest Son of Lord North, then Member for Harwich, and afterwards himself Earl of Guildford, acted as the Negotiator for his Father, on this Occasion :

while the Honorable Colonel Fitzpatrick, Fox's intimate Friend and Companion, conducted the Treaty on the other Part. Mr. North by no means wanted Talents; but, in Address, Capacity, and Accomplishments, the latter possessed an infinite Superiority. Each, actuated by a warm Desire to conduct the Business to a successful Issue, exerted his utmost Efforts for the Purpose. Two or three Days elapsed in Conferences and Discussions: nor was it till a very late Hour of the Night of the 16th of February, that, after many Visits to and fro, between St. James's Street and Grosvenor Square, where Lord North then resided, they finally settled the Outlines of a Convention; by which, on the Part of the two Principals it was stipulated, that if they effected a Change of Administration, the Treasury should be given to the Duke of Portland; that Lord North should likewise take a Cabinet Office; that a fair Partition of the Spoils, in other Words, of the great Posts and Emoluments of the State, should be made between the two Parties, who agreed henceforward to coalesce. And, lastly, that in the Debate of the approaching Evening, they should speak, act, and divide in Concert.

[17th February.] Such were the general Preliminaries of the “Coalition.” Many Difficulties on both Sides, which impeded the Progress of the Negotiation, protracted its Termination; nor did either Lord North or Fox retire to Rest, till four or five o’Clock in the Morning, when the Business was at length concluded. Fox, accustomed to pass the greater Part of the Night at Brookes’s, appeared in the House of Commons with his usual Freshness, on the ensuing Evening; and manifested during the Debate that ensued, neither Inattention, Lassitude, nor Fatigue. But, Lord North, whose natural Somnolency was increased, by having sat up for so many Hours of the preceding Night, under Circumstances of considerable Agitation, as well as by the prodigious Heat arising from a crowded House;—after taking his Seat near his new Ally, on the Opposition Bench, found himself so overcome by Sleep, that its Effect became irresistible. Unwilling, probably, to exhibit such a Spectacle, at such a Moment, which would have excited Matter of Animadversion, or of Ridicule, to both Parties; he at length quitted his Seat, and came up into the Gallery. I had placed myself there; immediately over

the Treasury Bench, every Part of the House below being filled. Lord North having seated himself by me, made various Efforts to keep himself awake ; but, to accomplish it, exceeded his Power. As the Discussion had already taken a very personal Turn ; severe Sarcasms, as well as Reproaches, being levelled from the Treasury Bench, against the unnatural Coalition just formed ; particularly by Mr. Dundas, who stigmatized it with the strongest Epithets of contumelious Reprobation ; he requested me to awaken him, as often as any such Expressions should be used by Ministers. I did so, many Times ; but, when he had listened for a few Minutes, he as often involuntarily relapsed into Repose. At the End of about an Hour and a half, during the greater Portion of which Time he seemed scarcely sensible to any Circumstance that passed, he began to rouse himself. By Degrees he recovered his Perception ; and having heard from my Mouth, some of the most interesting, or acrimonious Passages that had taken Place while he was asleep, he went down again into the Body of the House, placed himself by Fox on the Floor, and made one of the most able, brilliant, as well as entertaining Speeches, that I ever heard him pronounce

within those Walls. No Man who listened to it, could have imagined that he had lost a single Sentence of the preceding Debate, or that his Faculties had been clouded by Fatigue and Want of Rest.

Lord John Cavendish, whom Fox always selected for special and important Occasions; as his high Character for Integrity and Uprightness, spread a Sort of Veil over the Irregularities of his Party; moved an Amendment on that Night, to the Address proposed by the Friends of Administration. Lord John's Amendment was however couched in Terms so guarded, with a View to secure as many Votes as possible, that it might rather be termed a Hesitation in approving, than any direct Censure on the Peace. Even Lord North, who afterwards proposed a second Amendment, in which he recommended the American Loyalists to His Majesty's Consideration; implied, more than he asserted, that they had been forgotten or abandoned by the Framers of the Articles of Pacification concluded with the thirteen Colonies. The *Coalition*, avowed by Fox, was not only defended with the Boldness and Decision that marked his Character; but, he retorted on the Lord

Advocate, all the acrimonious Expressions which fell from the latter, upon the sudden Union of two such inveterate Opponents. Mr. Townsend, as Secretary of State, excelled himself in his Defence of the Peace, and may really be said to have in some Measure earned on that Night, the Peerage which he soon afterwards obtained. I never saw him display so much Animation, nor heard him manifest such Ability. Nor was Pitt wanting to himself, or to his Party. But, all their Efforts proved unavailing to sustain an Administration, which having been originally established on too shallow Foundations, had received no subsequent Reinforcement. After a Debate, protracted till near eight o'Clock in the Morning, they were left in a Minority of *sixteen*. Only nine Votes therefore, taken from the Coalition, and transferred to Ministers, would have given them a Majority; and above four hundred and thirty Members voted on the Occasion.

Many curious and interesting Circumstances, some among them of a personal Nature, took Place in the Course of that long Discussion, which were calculated to make a deep Impression on the Memory. Powis, first of any Individual who rose to

speak, assumed the Existence of a political Union between Lord North and Fox; reasoned upon it as a Fact consummated, and reprobated it in Terms of the severest Irony, or Condemnation. “The House now be-
“ holds,” said he, “for the first Time, the
“ lofty Defenders of royal Prerogative, allied
“ with the zealous Worshippers of the Ma-
“ jesty of the People. The most determined
“ Supporter of the Influence of the Crown,
“ joins Hands with the Purifier of the Con-
“ stitution, the Reformer of the Household.”
With great Ability, and still greater Candour, Powis pointed out the Defects and Concessions of the Treaties just concluded; expressed his Regret that such Features of the Work should excite his Disapprobation; but, added, “Yet, considering the whole
“ collectively, and the national Position at
“ the present Moment, I am ready to give my
“ full Assent to the Address moved, and to
“ declare my perfect Satisfaction.” If similar Sentiments, superior to the Spirit of Party, had animated the Assembly at large, Lord Shelburne would have kept his Office. So guardedly couched indeed was the Amendment which Lord North moved, that Mr. Townsend offered to agree with it, if the noble Lord would vote for the Address: but, the

Secretary of State's Proposal met with an instant Rejection. Burke answered Powis's Animadversions on the Junction between Lord North and Fox, the Principles of which Union he justified; though as to the Fact, he neither denied, nor admitted it. "Those Persons, however," observed he, "who hold that Opinion, and censure so violently the Alliance; have only to direct their Eyes to the Treasury Bench, where they will behold *a learned Lord* sitting between the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Secretary of State." Dundas instantly rose, and in a Speech of considerable Length, as well as of great Ability, full of most galling Personalities to Fox, contrasted his former Denunciations of Lord North while First Minister, with his present Line of political Action. He desired Fox to recollect his own Assertions, that "almost any Peace ought to be made, in Order to extricate the Country from its Embarrassments, and to dissolve the Combination of Powers leagued against us." Nor did Dundas omit to remind him of his pretended Declaration, that "He had a Peace in his Pocket;" as well as his Assertions of the ruined State of the Navy, which

incapacitated us for continuing the Contest with our European Enemies. On the newly consummated Union between the two Chiefs of Opposition, and on the sickly Offspring of their political Embrace, namely, the Motions submitted to the House, he indulged in the keenest Sarcasms.

Lord North's Speech on that Night, was worthy a Statesman, who had been the Minister of a great Empire. In a masterly Manner, without any Mixture of Passion, disdaining his usual Appeals to Ridicule, he reviewed consecutively all the Features of the Peace, and demonstrated the Vices or Errors interwoven throughout almost every Article of the three Treaties. While he was engaged in discussing one of the most serious Points of the Question under Examination; a Dog, which had taken Shelter, and concealed himself under the Table of the House of Commons, made his Escape, and ran directly across the Floor, setting up at the same Time a violent Howl. It occasioned a Burst of Laughter, and might have disconcerted an ordinary Man. But, He, who knew how to convert the most awkward Occurrences, to Purposes of Advan-

tage; having waited till the Roar which it produced, had subsided; and preserving all his Gravity, addressed the Chair. "Sir," said he to the Speaker, "I have been interrupted by a new Member; but, as he has concluded his Argument, I will now resume mine." Governor Johnstone, with his characteristic Violence of Tone and Language, declaimed against various Stipulations or Cessions contained in the American Treaty; which, he asserted, could only have been made by gross Ignorance, geographical and political. Among others, having mentioned the Restitution of the two Floridas to Spain, he accused Ministers of an utter Unacquaintance with the Value, the Productions, or the naval and commercial Importance of those Provinces. "I was, myself," added he, "Governor of West Florida, and I know its Consequence. As to East Florida, it can boast of one of the finest Harbours on the Globe, infinitely superior to the Havannah; more capacious, more safe, and more healthy." The Secretary of State, who sat opposite to him, expressing by his Looks and Gestures, the Astonishment which these Encomiums excited, "I perceive clearly," ex-

claimed Johnstone, “that the Right Honorable Secretary is ignorant of the Existence of this Bay. I will tell him where it is situate, and how it is named. The Harbour to which I allude, is that of Spirito Santo, or Tampa, situate on the Bay of Mexico. Its Possession would be invaluable to Great Britain.” Townsend did not attempt to deny that he was uninformed upon the Subject; nor probably was there another Individual within the Walls of the House, except Johnstone, who possessed any accurate Knowledge of the Bay in Question. Similar Acts of ministerial Ignorance are to be found in almost every Treaty between Nations.

Fox neither distinctly avowed, nor still less did he deny his Junction with Lord North. “That such an Alliance has actually taken Place between us,” said he, in Reply to Dundas’s acrimonious Remarks, “I can by no means aver: but, if it should be formed, I see not any Ground for arraigning our Conduct, or stigmatizing it as an unnatural Union. That I shall concur on this Night, with the Noble Lord in the blue Ribband, is very certain. The

“ American War, and that only, constituted
“ the Subject of Enmity between us. It is
“ now terminated, and with it has ceased
“ our Hostility.” Then, having contrasted
the honorable, open, and manly Character
of his new Ally, with the Evasions, Subter-
fuges, and Insincerity, which he imputed to
the actual First Minister; he endeavoured
to justify himself from some of the Imputa-
tions laid to his Charge by the Lord Advo-
cate. Nor will I deny that in my Judgment,
he exculpated himself fully on almost every
Point. “ I never said,” replied he, “ that I
“ had a Peace in my Pocket: Words falsely
“ attributed to me. But I averred, that there
“ were Persons empowered by America to
“ treat of Peace, who had applied to the
“ Duke of Richmond and Lord Keppel, by
“ whom I was authorized to mention it in
“ this House. The learned Lord challenges
“ me to produce the Peace that I had pro-
“ jected to make, when I was Secretary of
“ State. Will any of the King’s Ministers
“ give me the same Defiance? I dare them
“ to do it. They know what it is:—for,
“ they have it in the Foreign Office. If
“ on Inspection, it disproves my Asser-
“ tion, let them take Advantage of it: and

“ let them hold me up to public Condem-
“ nation, as a Man capable of advising
“ my Sovereign, to make, if it be possible,
“ a worse and a more ruinous Peace than
“ the Treaties now on the Table.” To
Dundas himself personally, Fox addressed
some of his severest Animadversions. “ The
“ learned Lord,” said he, “ informs us that
“ he is always ready to support any Govern-
“ ment, whose Principles he approves. I
“ believe that he is sincere in his Assertion;
“ and in Order that he may always be able
“ to support Administration, he will take
“ Care invariably to approve of their Prin-
“ ciples, whatever they may be, or whoever
“ may become Ministers.”

But, the Circumstance, which, above all
rendered that Evening memorable, as well
as entertaining, was the Altercation which
arose between Sheridan and Pitt. It may
be said to have originated with the former,
who adverting to an antecedent Debate, dur-
ing the Course of which, the Chancellor of
the Exchequer had objected to the Produc-
tion of a depending Treaty, on the Ground
that such an Act had no Precedent on the
Journals of Parliament; Sheridan treated

his Assertion with great Asperity, not unaccompanied with Ridicule. "If," said he, "the Right Honorable Gentleman's Youth and very early political Exaltation, had allowed him Time to look for Precedents, or to attain a Knowledge of the Journals, his Discretion might have imposed some Restraint on his Precipitation. He would not then have manifested so much Indignation at the Questions put to Ministers, and which it became their Duty to satisfy. These Facts convince me that he is more of a practical, than an experienced Politician." Indignant at the Style and Language of Sheridan's Reprehension, and perhaps hoping to crush at once an Adversary so galling, Pitt no sooner rose to address the House, than he directed all the Force of his Eloquence towards that Quarter. "There is no Man, Sir," said he, when commencing his Speech, "who admires more than I do, the Abilities of that Honorable Member," fixing his Eye on Sheridan; "the elegant Sallies of his Mind, the pleasing Effusions of his Fancy, his *dramatic* Turns, and his Epigrammatic Allusions. If they were only reserved for the proper *Stage*, they would no Doubt ensure, what

“ his distinguished Talents always have acquired, the *Plaudits* of his *Audience*; and
“ it would be his Recompence, *sui Plausu*
“ *gaudere Theatri*. But, this Place is not
“ the proper *Scene* for exhibiting such Elegances, and I must therefore call the Attention of the House to more serious Considerations of public Importance.”

If Pitt had pronounced this Animadversion, so pointed, classic, and personal, at the Close, not at the Commencement of his Discourse, and had instantly sat down; probably even Sheridan would have found himself unequal to replying on the Instant, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer might have obtained at least a temporary Triumph. But, the Length of Time that he remained on his Legs, gave his Opponent Leisure for meditating a proper Answer. Ordinary Individuals would have sunk under the Reproof, or would have displayed more Resentment, than Wit or Composure. The Reference to his theatrical Occupations, was no Doubt illiberal, as well as calculated to oppress any, except a Man constituted like Sheridan. He, on the contrary, found in the Attack, Matter of Advantage over his Adversary and of Exaltation to himself. Rising as

soon as Pitt had finished, and having prefaced with a few Words, under Pretence of Explanation, “With Regard,” said he, “to the particular Species of Personality which has just been introduced, I need not comment on it. The House will have appreciated its Taste, its Point, its Propriety. But, let me assure the Person who has had Recourse to it, that whenever he may think proper to repeat such Allusions, I will meet them with perfect good Humour. Nay more,—encouraged by the Encomiums bestowed on my Talents, should I ever again engage in the Occupations to which he alludes, I may, by an Act of Presumption, attempt to improve on one of Ben Jonson’s best Characters, the *Angry Boy* in the *Alchymist*.” The Admiration excited by a Repartee so keen and so prompt, cannot easily be conceived. Pitt never returned a second Time to the Charge, mounted on the same Horse: but, a Degree of mutual Alienation seemed always to subsist between him and Sheridan, founded on the Incompatibility of their Characters, Tempers, and Humours. No two Men were indeed ever cast in more dissimilar Moulds. On the respective Superior-

urity of their intellectual Endowments, I shall not venture to decide, or to pronounce. Both were the Prodigies of their Day.

Lee, the late Solicitor General, rising at a very advanced Hour of the Morning, as he was apt to do, exhausted his Vehemence, or rather, his Rage, on the First Minister; whose Character, as well as his Administration, and in particular, the Peace just concluded, which he denominated “a Dismemberment of the Empire, disgraceful, wicked, “and treacherous,” he loaded with Epithets of Condemnation. On Lord North, as a Statesman of incorruptible Integrity, manly, and superior to Artifice or Evasion of every Kind, he was as profuse in his Panegyrics, as he was indecorous and violent towards the Earl of Shelburne. Nor did Lee omit to express his Approbation of the *Coalition*, as a political Union, calculated to produce Benefits to the Country. During the whole Time that I sate in Parliament I never was present at a Speech more personally abusive, or which would have better justified Interruption. Kenyon, who was placed opposite to him on the Treasury Bench, and who was composed of as tough, as coarse, though not as boisterous Materials; unable to sup-

port such a String of Invectives, without manifesting his Indignation, severely reprehended his learned Friend, for “the swaggering Language” to which he had Recourse: strongly reprobating at the same Time, Lee’s Expressions relative to the First Lord of the Treasury. No Disposition being however shewn to retract, or even to modify them, Rigby interposed with an Apology for Lee, as being a young Member. Like his Friend Dundas, Rigby spoke and voted on that Night, with Ministry: but, since his Dismission from the Pay-Office, he seemed to have lost much of the imposing Manner and Style of speaking, which formerly characterized him when addressing the House. Great Anxiety and Agitation pervaded the ministerial Benches, when at length the Division took Place. As no accurate Opinion could be formed previous to the Conclusion of the Debate, on which Side the Members would preponderate, the Result, when announced from the Chair, excited as much Exultation among the Adherents of Lord North and Fox, as it spread Dismay through the Ranks of Administration.

I composed one of the Majority, on that

memorable Occasion. But I owe it nevertheless to Truth and to Candour, which are the only Guides or Principles that I recognize, to acknowledge, that when I consider the Articles of the Peace concluded by Lord Shelburne, after the Lapse of thirty Years, I am inclined to view it through a much more favourable Medium, than I did at the Time. Unquestionably, of the *three* Treaties, namely, those signed with *France*, *Spain*, and *America*;—for, with *Holland* no definitive Convention had been arranged;—the American Treaty was much the most humiliating, as well as injurious, to Great Britain. Besides the unconditional Recognition of the Independence of the Colonies, and the Cession of so many fortified Places, which it is difficult to suppose that the Americans could ever have taken from us by Force of Arms; our abandoning the Loyalists seemed, in the Estimation of People the most dispassionate, to affix a Degree of Degradation and Dishonour on the Nation itself. To Spain we likewise ceded East Florida, in addition to West Florida and Minorca, of both which, that Power had already obtained Possession. But, in Recompence for these Sacrifices, it must be remem-

bered, that France restored to us all our captured Islands in the West Indies, with the single Exception of Tobago; while we possessed nothing to offer her in return, except the Restitution of St. Lucie. The Stipulations made respecting our Possessions in the East Indies; those concluded relative to the Gum Trade, carried on along the Coast of Africa; and the Articles regulating the Right of Fishery on the Banks of Newfoundland;—if not favourable or advantageous in themselves, might yet have been signed between two Crowns treating nearly on equal Terms. Nor, when we consider the exhausted State of England at the Close of the American War, could they justly be regarded as unbecoming us to concede, in order to dissolve the formidable Combination then leagued against this Country, which was sustained by the armed Neutrality of the Baltic Powers.

While, however, I thus readily admit Lord Shelburne's Title to national Approbation, if not Gratitude, for the Peace of January, 1783, though I voted against it, as a Member of the House of Commons; I must maintain, and I trust satisfactorily to

prove, that if Lord North, instead of going out, as he did, in March, 1782, had remained in Office ten Months longer, he would have concluded at least as advantageous, if not a more beneficial Treaty. We shall in fact find, on examining the Subject, that Lord North either adopted or laid down all the Foundations, on which his Successor in Office reared that Superstructure. In other Words, we must be compelled to perceive, that Lord Shelburne only used the Materials left or provided him by his Predecessor. The Peace rested on seven distinct Grounds or Principles, of which the first was the Recognition of American Independence. But, Lord North manifested a much greater Readiness to obey the Wishes of the House of Commons on that leading Point, than was afterwards shewn by Lord Shelburne, who did not yield, till he was out-voted in the Cabinet: whereas Lord North, after General Conway's successful Motion of the 22d of February, declaring "the Attempt to reduce the Colonies to Obedience by Force, impracticable," immediately took Measures for the Purpose. On the 5th of March, a Fortnight before he laid down his Power, Wallace, then Attorney-General, moved in

his Place, for leave to bring in a Bill, “ to enable His Majesty to conclude a Truce or Peace with the revolted Colonies in America.” Fox affected to treat it with Derision, because he feared, its Operation on Parliament, and on the public Mind, might prolong the Existence of an Administration which he had so nearly run down: but, no impartial Man questioned the First Minister’s Sincerity; and the Victory of Congress in compelling Lord North, who had so long made War on them, to treat with America as a Sovereign Power, would have been more gratifying to the States, than the same Triumph obtained over any other Minister of Great Britain.

The second Cause that produced Peace, was Sir George Rodney’s Victory over de Grasse; which Event at once overturning all the Plans of Vergennes in the West Indies, secured Jamaica from any further Attack on the Part of France. Of this splendid Victory, though Fox reaped all the Benefit, Lord North and Lord Sandwich had unquestionably the whole Merit. We may even safely assert or assume, that if the Rockingham Administration had forced

their way into Office three Months earlier than they did ; the Action of the 12th of April, 1782, would never have taken Place, or might have had a very different Termination. It is not pretended that Pigot possessed any other Merit than his Connexion with Fox, cemented at Brookes's, over the Faro Table. The Measure itself, of sending him out to deprive Rodney of the Command, excited just, as well as general Indignation : nor did he perform a single Act of Energy after his Arrival, which could have accelerated or facilitated the Negotiations of Peace ; though Fox admitted in the House of Commons, during the Debate of the 21st February, 1782, that he was at the Head of a Fleet superior to the Enemy, and adequate to every offensive or defensive Operation. Elliott's Destruction of the Spanish Gun-boats before Gibraltar, on the 13th September ; by overwhelming all the Projects of Charles the Third for the Reduction of that Fortress, laid the third Foundation of the Treaty, as it disposed the Cabinet of Madrid to terminate the War. Happily, Fox did not recall Elliott, as he had done Rodney, nor send Burgoyne to supersede him. Lord Howe's most able Manœuvres,

in supplying Gibraltar with Stores of every kind, notwithstanding the combined Opposition of France and Spain, formed the fourth Groundwork of the Peace. In the Nomination of that great Naval Officer to the Command of the Fleet, and in that Measure solely, had Lord Shelburne any Participation or Share, as contributing to terminate the Contest. Nor would it be candid to deprive him of the Merit which he may thereby claim : but, neither ought we to forget that Admiral Darby had effected the same Service in the preceding Year, under Lord North's Administration, and had relieved Gibraltar, in Defiance of nearly similar Impediments.

The three last Foundations of general Pacification, were laid in the East ; where, as early as 1778, Lord North had ably anticipated the French Machinations, by getting Possession of Pondicherry. Of these leading Causes, the most essential, perhaps, may be deemed the separate Peace made with the Mharattas ; a Measure exclusively due to that First Minister, who in the Spring of the Year 1781, sent out Mr. Macpherson, (since Governor General of Bengal, and

created a Baronet,) as a Member of the Supreme Council. I know that his secret Instructions were, to endeavour by every Exertion in his Power, and even if necessary, by making considerable Sacrifices, to terminate the Mharatta War. In Compliance with those Directions, on his Arrival at Madras in October, 1781, without waiting to consult Hastings, who was then at a Distance from Calcutta; Mr. Macpherson, together with Lord Macartney, Sir Edward Hughes, and the Nabob of Arcot, Mahommed Ally, acting together in Concert, addressed Letters jointly to the Peshwah, at Poonah, expressing to him, in the Name of the Sovereign and Ministry of England, their sincere and ardent Inclination to Peace. It followed in a very short Space of Time, and flowed immediately from this Source. Lord Sandwich, who sent out Sir Edward Hughes to command the British Fleet in the East Indies, may claim the principal or exclusive Merit, of having laid the sixth Basis of the Pacification of January, 1783. For, though that Naval Commander did not vanquish Suffrein, as Rodney defeated de Grasse, yet he repulsed the French Admiral, when we were inferior to him in Number of Ships;

disabled the Enemy's Vessels, and finally compelled him to postpone his Projects of Co-operation with Hyder Ally ; thus protracting the Contest, till Intelligence of a general Pacification reached India.

The last Groundwork of Peace, was due to Hastings, acting as Governor General of Bengal, in Conjunction with the Supreme Council ; for the Promptitude with which, after Hyder's successful Irruption into the Carnatic in 1780, they dispatched Sir Eyre Coote with military and pecuniary Supplies, to the Aid of that nearly subverted Presidency. He first arrested the Progress of the Sultan of Mysore, and finally compelled him to retreat across the Mountains of the Ghauts, into his own Dominions. The vast Fabrick of British Power in the East, originally convulsed by the Errors or Incapacity of the Bombay Government, degraded by Rumbold's Mal-Administration, and perhaps exposed to Hazard by Hastings's Plans of Ambition or Aggrandizement ; was ultimately preserved and strengthened. When we fairly examine and appreciate these Facts, we shall see that though Lord Shelburne signed, or rather *concluded* the Peace

of 1783, yet Lord North's Administration *made* it. In Fact, though *no* Minister, however able or popular, could have longer prosecuted the War for subjugating the Colonies, after near seven Years of a ruinous and disgraceful Contest; *any* Minister, however moderately endowed with Talents, having in his Hands the Means possessed by Lord Shelburne, might have terminated the Struggle with our European Enemies, on making the Recognition of American Independence. Unquestionably Lord Shelburne obtained from the French Government, great Restitutions in the West Indies: but, the Enemy kept Possession of Tobago, and we restored St. Lucie; which last Island, considered as a military Post, was inestimable to France. Powis's Declaration on this great national Subject, which he made in his Place, when addressing the House, on the 21st of February, 1783; has always appeared to me to comprize in it, every Thing that can be said with Justice, either for, or against the Peace in Question. His Words were nearly these: " With Respect to the
" Treaties just concluded, I have already
" admitted that there are Parts of them,
" which I wish, not to have seen. But,

“ nevertheless, such is the Condition of the
“ Country, such the State of our Finances,
“ and so powerful is the Confederacy united
“ against us, that I am ready to accept the
“ Peace, such as it is, and to say that it de-
“ serves Parliamentary Approbation.” Few
Members of that Assembly, united to a
sound Judgment, so much Impartiality and
public Principle, as distinguished Mr. Powis.

Spain reaped the principal Benefit of the Treaty; as, in Addition to Minorca, she retained or acquired the two Floridas: these Advantages were however dearly purchased by her severe Losses before Gibraltar, in Men, Money, and Ships. Louis the Sixteenth, besides Goree and Senegal on the Coast of Africa, which Possessions rendered him Master of the Gum Trade; recovered the Islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, situate in the River St. Laurence. Pondicherry, together with the French Factories throughout Hindostan, were likewise restored by us: but, Holland, in Recompence for her unwise, as well as unjust Aggression lost Negapatam, her only Settlement of Importance on the Coast of Coromandel. America triumphed in the Contest;

and the greatest Statesmen whom England had produced, though they concurred in scarcely any other political Opinion, yet agreed on the Point, that with the Defalcation of the thirteen Colonies from the Crown, the Glory and Greatness of Britain were permanently extinguished. This Sentiment pervaded Lord Chatham's last Speech, pronounced on the 7th of April, 1778. "I will never consent," exclaimed he, "to deprive the Royal Offspring of the House of Brunswick, the Heirs of the Princess Sophia, of their fairest Inheritance. Where is the Man who will dare to advise such a Measure?" He considered it as a Consummation pregnant with the greatest national Misfortunes. Lord Shelburne even surpassed him in Expressions of Despair, at contemplating the Consequences inevitably resulting, as he conceived, from the Loss of America. Not once, but, many Times, he repeated this Sentiment, in the House of Peers, previous, as well as subsequent to, his becoming First Minister. On the 10th of July, 1782, when constituted first Lord of the Treasury, he declared that "when ever the British Parliament should recognize the Sovereignty of the thirteen

“ Colonies, the Sun of England’s Glory was
“ for ever set.—He looked for a Spark at
“ least to be left, which might light us up
“ in Time to a new Day. But, if Indepen-
“ dence were once conceded, if Parliament
“ considered that Measure to be advisable,
“ he foresaw in his own Mind that England
“ was undone.” It seemed impossible to
clothe his Ideas of Despair, in stronger
or more energetic Language. Lord George
Germain entertained, as I know, similar Ap-
prehensions. Speaking in the House of
Commons, on the 12th December, 1781, he
maintained, as a Position admitting of no
Doubt, that “ from the Instant when Ame-
“ rican Independence should be acknow-
“ ledged, the British Empire was ruined.”
I heard Dunning make almost the same De-
claration, on that very Night. Although he
spoke and voted with Opposition, yet he
concurred with the Colonial Secretary in
Opinion, that the Ruin of the Country
would be accomplished, whenever America
should be recognized as independent. Here
we have four Individuals, all distinguished
by pre-eminent Talents, denouncing national
Ruin, as inseparable from the Loss of Ame-
rica. The same Sentiment had impressed

all Classes of Men throughout the Country. How are we to account for the Non-fulfilment of these Predictions? How was the threatened Calamity averted; and by what Measures was Great Britain, after losing thirteen Colonies, rendered more formidable, wealthy, commercial, and great, than before her Misfortunes? Three Causes appear to me to have principally produced so extraordinary a Phenomenon, which has no Parallel in the History of Nations.

The first and leading Cause was, the Preservation of the British Constitution. Lord North, though he lost Armies, commercial Fleets, Garrisons, Islands, and Provinces; yet defended and preserved the Palladium of Civil Liberty. He transmitted to Lord Rockingham, in March, 1782, as he had received from the Duke of Grafton, in January, 1770, that invaluable Possession, inviolate. No Minister of George the Third more highly estimated its Blessings, or held its Preservation nearer his Heart. When, on the 21st of February, 1783, Sir Cecil Wray, then Member for Westminster, accused him of blindly maintaining the Prerogative of *the Crown* on all Occasions; he

justified himself, in Language equally dignified and convincing, from the Imputation. I was present, and heard him. “ I do not know, nor can I conceive,” said Lord North, “ on what Premises, the Honorable Member forms his logical Conclusion. I certainly have frèquently asserted, and I have uniformly maintained, the Prerogative of *Parliament* to bind and legislate for those Colonies, which were then united to Great Britain, by every Bond of Duty and Obedience. But, I defy him, or any Man, to specify a single Instance in which I ever attributed to *the Crown*, any other Prerogative than is vested in it by our Constitution; or than a King of this Country is acknowledged to possess by every sound *Whig*, and by all those Authors who have written on the Side of Freedom. I never did, nor ever wished to extend the Power of that Branch of the Legislature, one Inch beyond the Limits prescribed to it by Law. And however loudly Clamour has been raised against me, as a Minister who desired to govern only by the Influence of the Crown, I trust, the Charge has been already found wholly untrue.” Our Obligations to him are great and indelible: for,

never perhaps did any Minister surmount more severe Attacks than he endured. The Losses and Disgraces of the American War, followed by heavy annual Loans, gave rise to Meetings and Associations, whose professed Object was not only a Change of Administration, but, to effect Reforms and Alterations in the parliamentary Representation. These Convocations of Freeholders, which began in the County of York, towards the End of 1779, soon spread over the Kingdom, and were adopted in the Capital, at an early Period of the Year 1780.

Their Resolutions, patriotic in Profession, and perhaps in their Intention, were not the less revolutionary in Practice. Like the Clubs at Paris in 1790, they immediately appointed *Corresponding Committees*, whose Duty it was to prepare *Plans of Association* for ameliorating the Constitution. Men of the highest Rank, of the largest Property, and of the most unsullied Character, carried along by the Torrent, and impatient to overturn the Ministry, lent themselves to the Accomplishment of this Work. As early as February, 1780, Sir George Savile, when presenting in the House of Commons, the York Petition, accompanied it with Language such as

Ireton or Fleetwood might have used, when addressing the Rump Parliament in 1652 :— Language calculated to intimidate, and appealing obviously to external Interference. These Menaces were outdone by Sir James Lowther, in April of the same Year, on bringing up the Petition from Cumberland. He, whom “ Junius ” denominates “ the little contemptible Tyrant of the North,” threatened in his Place, that if “ the Grievances enumerated were not redressed, the “ Subscribers would withhold the Taxes ;” thus attempting to overawe the Legislative Body whom he addressed. Fox, as might well be imagined, far exceeded his Adherents, in the Violence of his Appeal to the People. On the 6th of April, 1780, the *Corresponding Committee* having convened the Inhabitants of Westminster, in Palace Yard, Fox read, and commented on the Report presented by that Committee ; while the Dukes of Devonshire and of Portland were present at his Side : but the Marquis of Rockingham absented himself. Government having very properly ordered out a Body of the Military Force, for the Protection of Parliament, and Suppression of Tumult or Violence ; Fox proceeded so far as

to declare in the House of Commons, that “ if Soldiers were thus let loose on the constitutional Assemblages of the People, all “ who attended them, must go armed.” The Cardinal de Retz, when conducting the Parisian Populace, and attempting to overturn the First Minister of that Day, held and practised precisely the same Doctrine. So would Mirabeau have done in our Time; or Sir Francis Burdett, and Horne Tooke.

Even previous to the actual Commencement of the American War, as early as 1774, Attempts were made by the Enemies of Government, to excite the Shipwrights and other Artificers in the royal Dock Yards, to *associate*, to *remonstrate*, and in Fact to assume a *deliberative public Character*. I was present in the House of Commons, when Sir Hugh Palliser related and detailed this curious Fact, respecting which, no Man could speak with more Accuracy, as he presided at the Navy Board when the Transaction took Place. Mr. Minchin, Member for Oakhampton, a Gentleman whom I very particularly knew, having brought forward a Discussion relative to the Condition of the Navy, in the Month of March, 1781, with a

View to criminate Lord Sandwich, then first Lord of the Admiralty; Sir Hugh, in Justification of that Nobleman, stated broadly, that “ the Enemies of the Country had “ found Means to frustrate his Plans for regulating the Dock Yards, on new Principles of great public Utility.” In Fact, the Workmen were secretly instigated to Insubordination. “ *Associations*,” Palliser declared, “ were formed among them. *Re-monstrances*, clothed under the Name of “ Petitions, were transmitted to the Navy “ Board; *Committees* were appointed. Nay, “ *Deputies* or *Delegates* were sent up to “ London, empowered by their Constituents “ to treat with the Commissioners of the “ Navy, in the Nature of a *Congress*.” Notwithstanding the Laughter which the Word *Congress* produced from both Sides of the Assembly, when it was pronounced; yet, Burke, anxious to efface the Impression made by the Narrative of Palliser, endeavoured to render it ridiculous; and justified particularly the Associations formed, as well as the Petitions presented; which were, he said, intended for preventing the lavish Expenditure of the public Money. But, Bamber Gascoyne instantly stood forward

to protect his Friend, Sir Hugh. Gascoyne, with whom I was well acquainted, represented at that Time the Borough of Truro, and had besides a Seat at the Admiralty Board. He possessed a clear and sound Understanding, with a most convivial Disposition; though not a very cultivated Mind, nor highly polished Manners. Rough, frank, and manly, he was not intimidated by Burke's Eloquence. In Terms the most positive, he confirmed Palliser's Account of the Delegates; adding, that "the whole
" Mischief was effected by the Enemies of
" England, whether foreign or domestic, he
" would not assert; who stimulated the inferior Orders of People to *associate*, to
" form *Committees of Correspondence*, and
" to throw the Nation into a Ferment." Indignant at such a Charge, which involved himself and all the Opposition Leaders, in the Guilt of Acts approaching to Treason, Burke, starting up, called Mr. Gascoyne to Order: but, He, appealing to the Chair against the Interruption, Burke, scarcely under the Dominion of Reason, exclaimed, that "if the Honorable Gentleman proceeded any further, in accusing that Side
" of the House with such nefarious Proceed-

“ ings, he would move to have the Words “ taken down.” Far from being terrified at this Menace, or affected by the Cries uttered from the Opposition Benches, of “ Take “ down ! Take down !” Gascoyne, with perfect Calmness assured the House, that no Clamour would deter him from performing his Duty. He then repeated verbatim his preceding Words ; declaring, that if any Gentleman now wished to have them taken down, he would assist him by pronouncing them distinctly a third Time. But, not an Individual rose, and Gascoyne was permitted to continue his Speech without further Molestation. Yet, Fox was present at this Scene, the Particulars of which I relate as they passed under my own Eyes.

How subversive of the Constitution, and how destructive of all Subordination to Government, were Fox’s avowed Opinions, while he was in Opposition, on the Right of the People to appoint Delegates, and thereby to dictate their Pleasure to Parliament ; was apparent from his Speeches or Declarations on various Occasions. I recollect one in particular, that I witnessed, the Impression of which will not easily be erased from

my Mind. On the 2d of April, 1781, Mr. Duncombe, one of the two Representatives for the County of York, having, in the Absence of Sir George Savile, presented a Petition to the House of Commons, from several *associated Counties*, signed by certain Freeholders whom he denominated *Delegates*; Daniel Parker Coke, (the *Andrew Marvel* of that Time,) strenuously opposed its Reception. He approved indeed highly, he said, the Object of the Petition, and would support it: but, not the Nomination of Delegates, whom he considered to be altogether unconstitutional, as well as dangerous. In this Sentiment he was sustained by Powis, Member for the County of Northampton. Dunning, on the other Hand, whose *Law* always appeared to me to be under the Controul of his *Politics*; and who did not then foresee how soon he should be translated to the upper House of Parliament, as well as to a Place in the Cabinet, and to the Chancellorship of the Duchy of Lancaster; undertook to defend the legal or constitutional Right of the Subject to nominate Delegates. But, Fox rising in his Place, far exceeded him in Boldness of Affirmation, and in Violence of Language.

“ I will not sit here, Mr. Speaker,” exclaimed he, “ and hear the Assertion, that it is
“ unconstitutional or illegal to appoint *De-*
“ *legates*; or that those Delegates so named,
“ should petition Parliament. I consider it
“ on the contrary, not merely as a correct
“ and authorized, but, as a laudable Measure, in the present Condition and Circumstances of this Country. By what
“ Law is it declared to be unconstitutional,
“ for the People of England to name Delegates *who shall reside in London, and*
“ *watch over the Conduct of their Representatives?* And who shall presume to impede those Delegates so constituted, from
“ petitioning Parliament in loyal and respectful Terms? Do they lose the Privilege of
“ a Freeholder, because they assume the
“ Title of a Delegate?—Certainly not. I
“ should have been ready to sign the Petition now brought up, in my *delegated*
“ Capacity; and I would have defended it
“ in my *representative* Character, within the
“ Walls of this House, as a faithful Representative of the People.” Whether such
Opinions are patriotic, or factious; whether they can be maintained and acted upon, without inevitably producing Confusion;

whether any Man can assume two public Characters of a political Description, the Duties of which may be incompatible and contradictory;—are Questions which must be left to every Person's Decision. These Principles appear to me to be, not merely Democratic or Republican, but, subversive of all good Government: fit only for the Jacobins of France in the Beginning of the Revolution; or for the modern Reformers, the *Watsons*, the *Thistlewoods*, the *Brandreths*, and the other Advocates of Insurrection, who wish to overturn the present Order of Things. Fox, indeed, was wholly guiltless, I am persuaded, of any such Intention. His only Aim was, by Means of this Scaffolding, to drive Lord North from Power, to force his own way into the Closet, and to compel the King to change his Administration. But, his Ambition, unlike that of Pitt, was not under the Controul of Judgment, Self-command, and Moderation. George the Third very properly availed himself of Fox's Errors, to expel him from the Cabinet, which he twice entered by Storm.

Nor were these Delegates the only Adversaries with whom Lord North had to

contend, when defending the Constitution. "The coldest Bodies," says Junius, "warm with Opposition; the hardest sparkle in Collision." Burke, who, ten Years later, drew forth his powerful Artillery in Defence of Monarchy, lent himself too much, at this Period of his political Life, it must reluctantly be owned, to the Machinations of Party. Many of his parliamentary Speeches between 1779 and 1782, breathe the Spirit of Faction, blended with Intemperance of Language, sometimes descending even to Invective. Dunning, though brought up to the Bar, and possessed of an ample Fortune acquired by his Profession; yet levelled a vital Blow at the Constitution of his Country, when, on the 24th of April, 1780, he moved in the House of Commons, "not to dissolve Parliament, or to prorogue the Session, till proper Measures should be adopted for diminishing the Influence of the Crown, and correcting the other Evils complained of in the Petitions." Algernon Sydney, or General Ludlow, the most determined Republicans of the seventeenth Century, could not have made a Proposition more subversive in its Results, of monarchical Government. It is obvious that if

such a Resolution had passed, the King would have stood in the Situation of Charles the First in 1641 ; as the Parliament would have been placed in the very Position of the House of Commons, at that awful Period of our History. Happily, Dunning's Motion was rejected by a Majority of fifty-one Votes, in a very full House. Fox, irritated to the most violent Degree, at the Subversion of his Hopes to drive Lord North from Power, attributed his Disappointment, to the Operation of ministerial Corruption among the Members who voted on the Occasion. It unquestionably resulted however from the Alarm excited among the moderate, independent Part of the Assembly ; who desired, indeed, to limit and to reform, but, not to annihilate, the Power of the Crown. No Man can doubt, that if the Prerogative of Prorogation and of Dissolution had been taken from the Sovereign, till every alleged Grievance had been redressed, the Constitution must have been from that Moment subverted ; and a Renewal of the Calamities of Charles the First's Reign, must almost inevitably have followed. To Lord North, therefore, sustained by the King's Firmness of Character, we owe our Preservation from

all the Evils of a Republican, if not a revolutionary, Form of Government. Since 1688, down to the Year 1792, when we were menaced with the still greater Horrors of French Fraternization, it may be safely asserted that the British Constitution never incurred so imminent a Danger of Subversion, as in 1780.

To Mr. Pitt we are indebted for the second leading Cause or Principle of our national Resuscitation and Recovery, after losing America. His Institution of the Sinking Fund of a Million Sterling, in the Spring of 1786, by its beneficial Operation on the public Credit, Commerce, and Finances, might be said to revivify the State, and still continues to dispense with augmenting Powers, its salutary Influence. The third Source of our Prosperity came from the East, where, without a Metaphor; the Sun of Britain rose, as it set in the West. Since 1783, our Acquisitions and Possessions in that Portion of the Globe, have been perpetually in a State of Progression. All our Losses on the Delaware and on the Chesapeake, have been more than compensated by our Conquests on the

Ganges, or on the Coasts of Coromandel and Malabar. The Augmentations of Territory in Oude, as well as in Corah and Döoab, including Dehli itself, the Metropolis of the Mogul Princes;—the Seizure of the Carnatic;—the Dissolution of the Mysore Monarchy in the Person of Tippoo Sultan;—the Reduction of Ceylon, of the Cape of Good Hope, and of the Island of Mauritius, not to mention many inferior Objects of Attention;—these prodigious Accumulations of Commerce, Power, and Wealth, have obliterated almost the Recollections of the American Struggle, and have closed all the Wounds caused by that unfortunate War. An annual Revenue of more than fifteen Millions Sterling, raised in India, payable, not in Paper, but in Specie; together with the Trade of the East, continually poured into our Harbours; have enabled us, after contending for nearly twenty Years with the Power of France, successively wielded by Robespierre and by Bonaparte, to terminate the Conflict in the most triumphant Manner. I return to the Progress of public Affairs.

However readily I admit that the Treaty of 1783, may be entitled to national Ap-

proval, yet the Members of that Administration, at the Head of which *Lord North* had so long presided, might, nevertheless, be fully justified in severely arraigning a Peace, which relinquished to America almost every Point or Object, for the Maintenance of which *they* had contended, from 1775, down to 1782. *They* might justly feel indignant at the Dereliction of the Loyalists; at the Evacuation of New York and Charles Town; and at the Sacrifice of immense Tracts of Territory, extending through near twenty Degrees of Latitude, and as many of Longitude; including Indian Nations our Allies, and containing incalculable commercial Advantages. When Lord Sackville and Lord Stormont, in the House of Peers, compared such a Treaty with past Periods of our History; when they accused the Ministry of doing Acts more culpable, than even Lord Oxford and Lord Bolingbroke had committed at Utrecht; they might at least be considered as speaking with Consistency, and in Conformity to their avowed Principles. But, I own that it seems more difficult to conceive, and to explain, upon what Ground *Fox* could justly reprobate such Preliminaries. *He* had loudly and re-

peatedly declaimed, for successive Years, on the indispensable Necessity of obtaining almost any Peace, however comparatively bad it might be, as imperiously demanded by the fallen Condition of Great Britain.

I perfectly remember, as early as the Beginning of the Month of March, 1781, when during a Debate relative to the Loan concluded by Lord North, the Prospect of Peace being incidently mentioned as a probable Event, Fox eagerly seized the Occasion to declare that "He was ready to support *almost any Terms* that the Enemy would offer for a general Peace: meaning thereby to include France, Spain, and Holland, as well as America." He added, that "while the national Concerns were conducted by the Ministers of that Period, *no Peace could be bad.*" Yet he declaimed, if possible, with more Vehemence and Asperity against the Earl of Shelburne, than he had done against Lord North. *He*, who considering the Americans as originally justified in resisting the Mother Country, had often undertaken their Defence in the House of Commons; while he always stigmatized the Loyalists with every opprobrious or con-

temptuous Epithet. *He*, whom I had, myself, heard declare from the same Side of the House, not twelve Months before, on the fifth Day of March, 1782, that “whenever
“ he should enter into any Terms with
“ an Individual of Lord North’s Cabinet,
“ he would rest satisfied to be called the
“ most infamous of Mankind.” Adding, that “he never could nourish the Idea of
“ coalescing with Ministers, who had proved
“ themselves devoid of Honour and Ho-
“ nesty; as, in the Hands of such Men, he
“ would not for a Moment entrust his own
“ Honour.” To varnish over, therefore, so complete a Change of Language, Sentiments, and System, required all those Talents, that bold Eloquence, and Disregard of, or Superiority to, public Opinion, which met in *Him*. I never indeed regarded him as animated by any other Motives, in his Opposition to the Peace of 1783, than Ambition and Desire of Power. Personally odious to the King, as he well knew himself to be, on Account of his private Irregularities, not less than from the Line of political Action which he had embraced during many Years; he beheld no Mode or Chance of speedily entering the Cabinet, except by uniting at once with

Lord North. Those Persons who think that Abilities such as his, ought not to have been lost to his Country, or excluded from the Councils of the Crown; will however see Cause probably, to justify in some Degree, his Sacrifice of political Principle, to an over-ruling Necessity. But, it became apparent by the Events that soon followed the Coalition of 1783, how different a Sentence the Majority of the Nation passed on that memorable Union. The People beheld in it, a complete Renunciation of every Object for which Fox had affected to contend; and they regarded, not merely with Indifference, but, with Satisfaction, his subsequent Expulsion from Office.

Lord North's Junction with the Party which had so long opposed him, has always appeared to me to admit of much more Palliation in every Point of View, than the Conduct of Fox and his Adherents. The former Nobleman, by no means in very affluent Circumstances, encumbered with a numerous Family, saw himself proscribed and excluded from the Cabinet, for having unsuccessfully maintained the Prerogative of the Crown, and the Supremacy of Parlia-

ment, against the American Insurgents. In this Situation, unprotected by the Sovereign, who was unable to extend any Assistance to him; and unpopular with the Nation, because he had been unsuccessful; Fox opened his Arms, and offered him an Alliance. Was he bound to reject it, and thus pass a Sentence of Political Exclusion on himself? But, even if he had so done, worse Evils presented themselves in Prospect. A Union between Fox and Pitt, if it had taken Place, would have eventually produced, in all Probability, his own Impeachment, and that of other Members of his Cabinet. Nor could he have found any effectual Security from such a Prosecution, either in the Royal Authority, in the Adherence of the House of Commons, or in the Affection of the Country. He might have been made the Victim and the Sacrifice, for the Loss of Empire; for the Disgraces, Defeats, Capitulations, and ruinous Expenditure, of an unfortunate War. Fox and Burke had a hundred Times menaced him with the Block. Pitt, who, it was evident, entertained similar Opinions respecting his Administration, did not at all conceal them.

Powis, when declaiming against the Coalition recently made between Lord North and Fox, on the 21st of February, observed, that “ to the ill-timed Lenity of Lord Shelburne’s Administration, it could alone be imputed, that the noble Lord in the blue Ribband enjoyed his present Situation of Impunity. For, if those Enquiries which had once been in Contemplation, had been carried into Effect, the House of Commons would not have witnessed on the present Occasion, the extraordinary and unnatural Alliance formed against Ministers.” Sir Edward Astley, one of the Representatives for the County of Norfolk, who, though a Man of no shining Ability, justly excited Respect as a Country Gentleman, expressed similar Opinions on the same Night. So did other Members of the House, upon various Occasions. Sir Charles Turner, in his homely Yorkshire Dialect exclaimed, “ The noble Lord in the blue Ribband is the Author of all our Misfortunes! If he and his Colleagues had been impeached, as it was the Duty of this House to have done, other Ministers would have been deterred from treading in their Steps. But, now they see that

“ Delinquency forms the high Road to Pre-
“ ferment, and if any Man of Talents within
“ these Walls, will sell his Conscience, I
“ will ensure him a Peerage. The Com-
“ mission of political Crimes leads infalli-
“ bly to Titles, Pensions, and Ribbands.”
By accepting the Overtures of the Rocking-
ham Party, Lord North therefore at least
secured his personal Safety, and opened to
himself an Avenue to the Resumption of
Power. It was not, as I have always
thought, the Act of uniting with Fox, that
in itself disgraced him; but, the too ready
Subserviency with which he afterwards lent
himself to every Measure, which that enter-
prizing and ambitious Statesman, having
again forced his Way into the Cabinet,
thought it necessary to adopt, in order to
maintain himself in a Situation, which he
had attained in Contradiction to the Wishes
of his Sovereign.

[21st. February.] The Victory obtained
by the new Coalition, over Ministers, in the
House of Commons, however flattering it
might be to their Hopes, yet being by no
means decisive; and the Peace having been
approved in the Upper House, though only

by a small Majority of thirteen;—in order to compel Lord Shelburne's Resignation, it became necessary to express in more affirmative Language, a Parliamentary Disapprobation of the Preliminaries. For this Purpose, four Days after the first Debate, a second Discussion took Place, when a Motion or Resolution to the Effect above mentioned, was brought forward; Lord John Cavendish lending himself again to introduce the Business. It was indeed a Service of some Danger and Delicacy, requiring all the Reputation which that Nobleman enjoyed for political Rectitude, to protect his Friends from the Imputations excited by the *Coalition*. Mr. Secretary Townsend, in the Course of the Debate that ensued, paid many Compliments to Lord John's Candour and Honesty of Intention, at the Expence of his Understanding, or rather, of his Firmness. "I have," observed he, "the most implicit
" Reliance on the Integrity and Honour of
" that noble Person; who, from the Dictates of his own generous Mind, would
" not act uncandidly by any Administration: but, he may be led aside, in Con-
" sequence of the Respect which he entertains for others, *who know how to choose*

“ *their Man*, whenever they want any Business to be effected, which is not evidently right in itself. I am perfectly convinced that my noble Friend is not the Author of the Resolutions that he has proposed; and if Ministers were to be judged by his Head and Heart, I should not fear to make the Treaties just concluded appear to him a real Blessing to this Country.” Lord John endeavoured to justify the recent Coalition, against the severe Animadversions of Powis, and of other Members who had generally voted with the Rockingham Party; by comparing Fox’s Union with Lord North, to the Administration formed in June, 1757, when the first Mr. Pitt coalesced with the Duke of Newcastle, whom he had during many Years opposed and reprobated. But, however analogous in many Respects that Transaction might be, yet it certainly failed in carrying the moral Conviction to the Minds of his Hearers, which Lord John aspired to produce by his Comparison.

The Peace was again attacked and defended on its own proper Merits; at great Length, with equal Ingenuity, Asperity, and profound

Knowledge of the Subject. Fox's Speech, though it displayed admirable Ability, as well as prodigious Information, embracing all the great Interests and Possessions of the Empire, commercial or political, in its Range; yet wanted, as I thought, that triumphant Spirit which commonly animated and characterized his Eloquence. He, no Doubt, anticipated the Event of the Evening, as almost certain; and consequently beheld before him, the Way open into the Cabinet. But, he had sacrificed, if not public Principle, at least, public Opinion, to gratify his Ambition. When he looked round him, many Vacancies were visible on the Opposition Benches; where, in Place of his former Friends, he now saw only the Adherents of Lord North, so lately his bitterest Adversaries. He was unquestionably sensible to the Circumstance, and he laboured hard to erase the unfavourable Impression, which, he well knew, his Junction with a Nobleman whom he had so lately reprobated, must excite in every Mind divested of Party Feelings.—“ I believe,” said he, “ that there “ is scarcely an Individual within these “ Walls, who would give to the present First “ Minister, his free and spontaneous Support.

“ Has he not made, in every Quarter of the
“ Globe, Concessions the most important,
“ without even a Pretence of any Equiva-
“ lent? Then let not my Coalition with
“ the noble Lord near me, be considered as
“ resulting in any Degree from the *Res an-*
“ *gustæ Domi.* Such a Motive never can
“ influence Men of Integrity. Nor let it
“ be asserted that such a Junction against a
“ Minister, is unconstitutional. For, while
“ we admit in the most extended Sense, the
“ King’s Prerogative of ministerial Appoint-
“ ment, the People can by their Privilege an-
“ nul the Nomination. It is only a Coalition,
“ that can repair the decayed System of
“ Administration, and give it the Tone of
“ vigorous Exertion. By it we shall regain
“ the lost Confidence of the Nation, and
“ give Effect to the Springs of Government.
“ The obnoxious Part of the Cabinet must
“ recede from the Presence of the Sovereign.
“ He possesses neither the Sanction of the
“ People, nor of Parliament.” Such was
Fox’s Language on that memorable Night.

Those who heard Mr. Pitt address the House on the same Evening, cannot easily forget the Impression made upon his Audi-

ence, by a Speech which might be said to unite all the Powers of Argument, Eloquence, and impassioned Declamation. He seemed to fight, indeed, as Cæsar did at Munda, not merely for Empire, or for Power; but, for Life. After defending, Article by Article, the Treaties concluded; he finished by deprecating “the ill-omened and baneful Alliance” which had just taken Place between Lord North and Fox, as teeming with pernicious Effects of every kind to the Country. Then reverting to the Consequences which it might produce personally to himself, he professed his Readiness to retire to a private Station without Regret. Alluding to so material an impending Change in his own Condition, he exclaimed,

“Fortuna sævo læta Negotio, et
Ludum insolentem ludere pertinax,
Transmutat incertas Honores,
Nunc mihi, nunc alii benigna.
Laudo manentem : si celeres quatit
Pennas, resigno quæ dedit.”——

With a Presence of Mind which never forsook him, he here paused; and, conscious that the Words of the Roman Poet immediately following, “*Et mea Virtute me involvo,*”

might seem to imply a higher Idea of his own Merit or Disinterestedness, than it would become him to avow, he cast his Eyes on the Floor. A Moment or two of Silence elapsed, while all Attention was directed towards him from every Quarter of the House. During this Interval, he slowly drew his Handkerchief from his Pocket; passed it once or twice across his Lips; and then recovering as it were from his temporary Embarrassment, he added with Emphasis, striking his Hand on the Table,

“ ——— probamque
“ Pauperiem sine Dote quæro.”

Perhaps a more masterly and beautiful Piece of oratorical Acting, is not to be found in Antiquity. Even if we suppose the whole Passage to have been studied and prepared, yet the Delicacy of the Omission is not less admirable. I believe, however, that both the Lines which he cited, and the one which he suppressed, were all equally suggested to him by his Feelings and his Judgment, at the Time. Its Effect on that Part of the House which perfectly understood it, corresponded to its Merit. But, Mr. Pitt,

who well knew how large a Part of his Audience, especially among the Country Gentlemen, were little conversant in the Writings of the Augustan Age, or familiar with Horace, always displayed great Caution in borrowing from those Classic Sources. In the Lapse of near fourteen Years that I have heard him almost daily address the House of Commons, I question if he made in all, more than eight or ten Citations. Fox and Sheridan, though not equally severe in that Respect, yet never abused, or injudiciously expended the Stores of ancient Literature that they possessed. Burke's Enthusiasm, his exhaustless Memory, and luxuriant Imagination, more frequently carried him away into the Times of Virgil and Cicero : while Barré usually condescended, whenever he quoted Latin, to translate for the Benefit of the County Members.

I have already said that the Chancellor of the Exchequer excited Admiration by his Speech in Defence of the Peace. There was indeed, throughout the whole of that most eloquent Address, a Pathos, an Emotion, and an Animation, of which, even in *Him*, I hardly ever witnessed any similar

Exhibition, while I sate in Parliament. If Lord Shelburne's Ministry could have been propped or preserved, it must have been upheld by such a Man, and by such Exertions. Over Fox and Lord North, Pitt seemed to assume a moral Superiority; and, if I may so express myself, to look down upon them from the Eminence on which he stood:—not the Eminence of Power, or of Office, but, of conscious Rectitude, untainted with Party Spirit, and disdaining to sacrifice Principle for Place; while he beheld *Them* floundering in the Mire of Ambition. Addressing himself to Fox, at the Commencement of his Speech, “The Triumphs of Party,” exclaimed he, “with which the Right Honorable Gentleman seems so highly elate, shall never seduce *me* to commit any Act, which even Suspicion can condemn. *I* will never engage in political Enmities, without a public Cause. *I* never will forego such Enmities, without the public Approbation. Nor will *I* ever be questioned and cast off in the Face of this Assembly, by one virtuous and dissatisfied Friend. These, the permanent Triumphs of Reason and Principle, over the profligate Inconsistencies of Party Violence;—these, the Triumphs of Virtue over Success itself, shall

“ not only be mine on the present Occasion,
“ but, throughout every future Condition of
“ my Life.”

The Coalition, though supported by Superiority of Numbers, and conducted by extraordinary Talents, as well as Energies; shrunk, as I thought, under the Castigation thus inflicted, to which Fox made no Reply. After having depicted in a masterly Manner, not less lucid and distinct, though less verbose than Fox; the fallen State of the British Empire and of its Resources, at the Beginning of 1783; he alluded with surprizing Delicacy and Beauty, to its widely different Position in 1763, when the great Earl of Chatham, his Father, had placed it on the Summit of national Glory. “ Could His Majesty’s present Ministers,” said he, “ thus surrounded, as we are, with
“ Scenes of Calamity, attempt to dictate
“ Terms of Pacification to the confederate
“ Powers?—Even the Dutch had not been
“ disarmed or conciliated by the humiliating
“ Language of the late foreign Secretary.
“ Should we have persevered from Day to
“ Day, in throwing the desperate Die? Can
“ the Articles of Peace now accepted, suffer
“ any serious Comparison with the Treaty

“ of Paris?—There was, indeed, a Time, when
“ this Country might have dictated Condi-
“ tions to her Enemies! And if an Imagi-
“ nation, warmed with the Power and Pros-
“ perity of Great Britain, could have di-
“ verted any Member of the present Cabinet,
“ from a painful Perception of the Truth,
“ I may, I hope, without Presumption, have
“ been entitled to that Indulgence. I well
“ recollect how much my Childhood was
“ animated by the Recital of England’s Vic-
“ tories. I was instructed by one, whose
“ Memory I must ever cherish and revere,
“ that at the Termination of a Contest,
“ widely different from the present, we had
“ prescribed the Terms of Peace to submis-
“ sive Nations. This was the *Æra* of our
“ Splendor; in contemplating which I may
“ be allowed to feel a more than common
“ Interest. But, that *Æra* is fled! We are
“ now under the mortifying Necessity of
“ adopting a Tone and Language corre-
“ sponding with our altered Condition. All
“ the Visions of our Power and Pre-emi-
“ nence have passed away.”

Noble and affecting as was this Picture,
drawn by such a Hand, and on such an

Occasion ; I am not sure whether it was not outdone by other Passages, in the Course of the same Evening. His two Portraits, of Lord Shelburne, and of Lord North, though I may not altogether admit their Truth in every Particular, were Master-pieces of Talent. “ From the Complexion of this “ Evening’s Debate,” observed Pitt, “ it “ appears obvious that the Motions originate, “ rather in the Desire of driving the Earl of “ Shelburne from the Treasury, than in any “ Conviction that Ministers merit Censure “ for the Concessions made in Order to obtain Peace. Concessions arising from an “ insurmountable Necessity, and imputable “ solely to the Cabinet of which the noble “ Lord in the blue Ribband was the Head. “ The Minister who now presides in the “ Councils of the Crown, like every other “ Individual eminent for Ability, and placed “ in high Office, becomes naturally an Object of Envy. The *Obloquy*, to which his “ Capacity and his Elevation subject him, “ has been created and circulated with equal “ Meanness and Address : but, his Merits “ are as much above my Encomiums, as *the Arts to which he owes his Defamation*, are “ beneath my Notice. When, bereft of

“ Power, he descends into Life, without the
“ invidious Appendages of Place; Mankind
“ will view him through a different Medium,
“ and perceive in him Qualities richly en-
“ titling him to their Esteem.”—“ My parti-
“ cular Share of the Censure pointed against
“ Ministers, I will support with Fortitude,
“ because I have not acted wrong. My own
“ Heart, a Monitor which never yet did,
“ and I trust, never will deceive me, consti-
“ tutes my Asylum against Clamour and
“ Faction. I felt no extraordinary Eager-
“ ness to come in, and I shall experience no
“ Reluctance to go out, whenever the Pub-
“ lic may think proper to dismiss me from
“ their Service.”—“ I repeat, that whatever
“ may appear humiliating or inadequate, in
“ the Treaties now laid upon the Table, is
“ exclusively and wholly chargeable to the
“ noble Lord in the blue Ribband. His
“ Profusion of the public Money, his noto-
“ rious Temerity and Pertinacity in prose-
“ cuting the War for reducing America to
“ Submission;—a Contest which originated
“ in his pernicious and oppressive Policy;
“ when added to his utter Inability for filling
“ the Station which he occupied;—these
“ Circumstances have rendered Peace, al-

“ most of any Description, indispensable for
“ the Extrication of the State.” I will fairly
confess, that though I voted against Ministers
on that Night, yet Mr. Pitt never appeared
in my Eyes, an Object of more just Admiration,
than when on the Point of laying down his Power.
Such, I believe, to have been the Sentiment
universally felt, not less by his Opponents,
than by his Supporters.

While however I do him this Justice, I cannot
pass over in Silence the Part which Lord North
performed, on an Occasion which demanded
all his Exertions. He rose soon after Pitt
concluded, and rarely have I witnessed, even
from *Him*, an Exhibition of greater Talent.
“ The last Speaker,” observed he, “ whose
amazing Eloquence has so deeply impressed
and affected every Person in this Audience,
does me the Honour to select me as the
Object of his Thunder. And it constitutes
no slender Presumption of my Innocence,
that I have heard him thunder without
experiencing any Dismay. I have even
listened to his Thunder, with equal
Astonishment and Delight. But, I call on
him, and on every

“ Individual who hears me, to attest my
“ Declaration, that I have never abandoned
“ in a single Instance, my Character, my
“ Connexions, or my political Principles.
“ I have been, and I am ready to meet,
“ without Subterfuge or Evasion, the most
“ scrupulous Enquiry into every Action of
“ my Life. I am ready, even at this Instant,
“ to stand forth, and to bid Defiance to
“ every Species of Investigation. Conscious
“ of my Rectitude of Intention, I labour
“ under no Apprehension, either of incurring
“ Censure, or of deserving Punishment.”
Then alluding to his Junction with Fox,
after having spoken of his Abilities, in Terms
of the warmest Panegyric, Lord North
added, “ It is true that during my Admi-
“ nistration, when I was vilified and abused,
“ as every unfortunate Minister must be,
“ he often ran me hard, and made me the
“ Object of his severe Animadversion. But,
“ however deficient in Capacity may have
“ been my official Conduct, I trust, it will
“ be admitted that I never wanted Zeal to
“ promote the true Interests of my Country,
“ according to my Conception of them. And
“ notwithstanding the Asperity with which
“ he frequently treated me, as well as my

“ Measures, I do not recollect his ever
“ charging me with the direct Want of In-
“ tegrity. I know his Temper to be warm ;
“ but, he is of a generous Nature, open,
“ sincere, and manly. While I admire the
“ vast Extent of his Mind, I can rely with
“ Security, on the Goodness of his Heart.
“ And our Principles, which were adverse,
“ being now congenial, we shall unite all
“ our Energies in the Cause of Great Bri-
“ tain.” We must admit that a more elo-
quent and able Defence of the *Coalition*,
could not have been pronounced. The
Public, nevertheless, viewed it through other
Optics, and considered it as a mutual Sa-
crifice of political Principle.

A Minority of *seventeen*, in which the Mi-
nistry remained at the Close of the Debate,
which took Place at a very late Hour, and
in a very crowded House of Commons,
where near four Hundred Members voted ;
seemed to secure the Triumph of the *Coali-
tion*. Yet, as no direct Censure had hither-
to been passed upon the Administration ;
and as the Condemnation expressed relative
to the Peace, was couched in very moder-
ate Terms ; simply stating that “ the Con-

“ cessions made, were greater than our Ad-
“ versaries were entitled to demand ;” it did
not by any means follow, that a Change in
the Government would take Place. Lord
North himself had sufficiently demonstrated,
during the two Sessions of 1779 and 1780,
how little Effect a Majority had, in com-
pelling him to retire from Office: and the
political, if not moral Disapprobation, felt
at the recent Junction of two Men who had
so long condemned and reprobated each
other, pervaded to a certain Degree, all
Ranks. Of this mortifying Fact, Fox very
early received the most unequivocal Proofs.
Powis had commented on it with great Acri-
mony. Sir Cecil Wray, Fox’s Colleague
for Westminster, rising in his Place during
the Debate which we have just reviewed;
exclaimed, “ I am told that a Coalition has
“ taken Place with that Ministry, to whose
“ Mal-Administration is alone imputable the
“ distressed Condition of the Country, which
“ renders necessary the present Peace. What
“ Opinion may be entertained by other Gen-
“ tlemen, I know not: but, for my own
“ Part, I solemnly declare, I never will
“ support an Administration so composed,
“ nor any Administration, of which Lord

“ North forms a Part.” Mr. Duncombe, one of the two Representatives for the County of York, expressed himself, if possible, in stronger Language, only three Days after the Debate of the 21st of February. Having presented a Petition to the House, from near ten Thousand Freeholders of Yorkshire, demanding a more equal Representation in Parliament; he took Occasion to say, that “ it would be with Reluctance “ he should support any Administration, “ of which Lord North was a Member.” Burke, no doubt thinking to efface the Impression, instantly stood up, and remarked with some Asperity, that, “ as to Parliamentary Support, it ought neither to be “ given, nor to be withheld, on Account of “ Men, but, of Measures.” Adding, “ the “ Honorable Gentleman appears to be of a “ different Sentiment, as he informs us, he “ will consider Men, and not Measures.” Duncombe, however, not intimidated by the Correction, observed, that “ he might have “ expressed himself incorrectly in making “ Use of the Term *Reluctance*.” “ I will, “ therefore,” continued he, “ amend it, and “ declare that I never will lend my Support to such an Administration. In thus

“ speaking of the noble Lord, I wish to have
“ it understood, that I have in View, the
“ Measures, as well as the Man; for, from
“ his past Measures, I appreciate the Man.”

Mr. Walter Stanhope, then Member for Hull, retorted on Burke for his Versatility. “ I own it astonishes me,” said he, “ to find
“ that the noble Lord’s Defender, is the
“ very Person who has more than once declared him a fit Object of Impeachment;
“ nay, who went so far as to assert in this
“ House, that he had an Impeachment ready
“ drawn in his Pocket.” Such were the humiliating Reflections or Animadversions, to which the Coalition gave Rise, among Men most attached to Fox, and to the Rockingham Party! Mr. Hill, who represented Shropshire, and who was afterwards better known in the Annals of Parliament, as Sir Richard; accustomed to borrow his Allusions from Holy Writ, compared the Junction of Lord North and his new Associate, to the Union between Herod and Pontius Pilate. Even Sir Charles Turner, a Man devoted to Fox, and who so implicitly adopted all his political Opinions, as in general to retain none of his own, yet recoiled at the Union; of which he expressed

himself, when addressing the House, in that plain, unadorned, but, emphatic Style, natural to him. “The *Coalition*,” exclaimed he, “has astonished the whole Nation, and “no Individual more than myself. I am “sorry for it, as my worthy Friend Charles “has materially injured himself by it. He “has lost much of his Popularity. The “noble Lord with whom he has coalesced, is “undoubtedly the best of Men, considered “as a private Character: but, as a Minister, “he has been most unfortunate. I reprobate therefore the Alliance between them. “It will turn out ill, and never answer the “Expectations of its Authors.” Even the very Majority which had disapproved of the Treaties, as inadequate to our just Expectations, yet might not follow up their Vote by any personal Attack on Ministers; or if they did, might fail to carry the House with them. And in that Event, the Coalition would remain seated, as before, on the Opposition Bench, without deriving any Benefit from their late Success. A First Lord of the Treasury, who, to conscious Integrity, joined Fortitude and Resources of Character, seemed exempt from any Necessity of resigning, on Account of the Danger of Impeachment; and might still, by protracting

the Struggle, terminate it advantageously to himself. Such were the Opinions at that Time generally entertained, and the Expectations formed, both in, and out of Parliament.

[22d—28th February.] But, all these political Speculations were suddenly overturned by Lord Shelburne's immediate Resignation. Without waiting for any broader Hint, or trying by any Exertions to perpetuate his Possession of Power, he retired from Ministry, as so many of his Predecessors had done during the present Reign. There has always appeared to be something mysterious or unexplained, in the Motives which impelled him thus precipitately, if not prematurely, to abandon a Situation which he had attained with so much Labour, as well as Address, and from which he can scarcely be said to have been driven. So singular a Fact was variously explained or interpreted at the Time. As even his Opponents neither attributed to him, Want of Ambition, nor any Defect of Firmness, it became requisite to discover and to assign other Reasons for his Conduct. Reports injurious to his political Reputation,

were industriously disseminated by his Enemies ; which, from the systematic Hostility exhibited in their Diffusion, I believe to have been without Foundation. Pitt himself may, indeed, be said to have involuntarily given some Weight to them, by his own Line of Conduct towards Lord Shelburne:—for, though scarcely ten Months elapsed, before Pitt came again into Power, yet he never associated that Nobleman to any Share of it, nor ever offered to give him a Place in the Cabinet, as Lord President, or as Lord Privy Seal. So pointed an Exclusion of the Man, who had first called him up to the Councils of the Sovereign, and placed him there as Chancellor of the Exchequer, at three and twenty, is not easily explained. It is true that Pitt pronounced, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, from the Treasury Bench, the highest Encomiums on his Principal, during the Course of the Discussions that took Place relative to the Peace. In his memorable Speech of the 21st of February, he even alluded, as we have seen, with indignant Warmth, to the “ Arts of Defamation” which Lord Shelburne’s Enemies adopted, for the Purpose of degrading him in the national Estimation:—Arts, of which

Pitt professed his Scorn, as well as his Conviction of their Falsehood. But, his Actions seem to have contradicted his Professions.

I have however been assured that Pitt, when he was made First Lord of the Treasury, and Chancellor of the Exchequer, in December, 1783, *did* offer Lord Shelburne a Seat in the Cabinet:—a Proposition which was declined by the latter, as he conceived it impossible for Pitt to maintain himself in Office, against a decided Majority in the House of Commons. When he had ultimately surmounted all Opposition, and was become established in Power, he therefore did not esteem it necessary to reiterate the Offer. Lord Shelburne, offended at his Exclusion from any Place in Administration, complained of it to the King; adding, that “He, who had first introduced Mr. Pitt into the Cabinet, found himself now neglected by his former *Eleve*.” But, His Majesty replied, “My Lord, I believe, Mr. Pitt was the only Man who could have aided you so essentially as he did, on your being placed at the Head of the Treasury, after the Marquis of Rockingham’s Decease.” I have Reason to think that this Anecdote is correct and well

founded. That towards the End of 1784, Pitt advised His Majesty to raise Lord Shelburne to the Rank of a British Marquis, must be admitted. But, that Title was understood to be given, (like the Earldom of Lonsdale, conferred by Pitt on Sir James Lowther, earlier in the same Year), as Payment in full from the First Minister, for all past Obligations or Services. Lord Shelburne, after his Resignation, seemed in Fact to be regarded as politically extinct, though still in the full Enjoyment of all his Faculties of Body and Mind, nor at all supposed to want Ambition. The Marquis of Lansdown, as a Peer of Parliament, sometimes took a Part in the Debates of the upper House; but, he never openly aspired again to become First Lord of the Treasury, nor even to enter the Cabinet.

[1st—6th March.] Throughout the whole Proceeding of the Ministerial Change that took Place at this Time, there was something personal, which attached exclusively to himself. *He* resigned, almost immediately after the second Debate, of which I have spoken.; but *the Administration* was by no means on that Account, at an End. Pitt, far from following his Example, remained in

Office more than five Weeks, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, after the First Lord of the Treasury had retired; a Circumstance unprecedented in our History!—Nor can there be any Doubt that he might have retained his Situation under the *Coalition*, if he would have submitted to sit in Cabinet, and to act with Lord North: but his Principles were too inflexible to accommodate themselves to Circumstances. Lord John Cavendish, far from forming any Obstacle, would have lent every Facility to Pitt's Continuance at the Head of the Exchequer. Fox himself, in the Course of his Speech on the 21st of February, expressly stated the Fact. “Can my noble Friend,” said he, “who brings forward the present Resolution, be considered as a Man ambitious of Power? He, who has always been known rather to avoid, than to court, official Employment? If he has any Blemish to set off his eminent Virtues, it is that of receding from those Places, where his Ability and Integrity might render essential Service to his Country.” Throughout the two Debates in the lower House of Parliament, on the Peace, Lord Shelburne formed, if not the exclusive, yet the principal Object of Attack. Even those Members who most severe-

ly reprobated the Junction of Lord North and Fox, 'expressed the greatest Indifference on the Subject of the First Lord of the Treasury, and his Tenure of Power. "As to the present Premier," said Sir Cecil Wray, "I know little of him, and various Reasons induce me to wish him out of Office; but, not for having concluded the Treaties on the Table." Powis speaking on the same Subject, on the Night of the 21st, observed, that "if the Removal of the First Minister, constituted the principal Object of the Motion, he considered it as already sufficiently decided." "The Division," added he, "on the former Agitation of the present Question, four Days ago, may have given a pretty broad Hint to the noble Lord, that he is by no means so popular as he had imagined."

Powis's Language on the 6th of March, when alluding to the State of ministerial Affairs, was still more pointed. "The Administration," remarked Powis, has been "for some Time burning in the Socket, and has at last become extinct. But, perhaps, in one Point of View, this is no national Misfortune;—for, when I reflect who is at the Head of the Ministry, I may say,

“ it would be better to have no Head at all.” Widely different were his Expressions relative to the Chancellor of the Exchequer. “ In the Dissolution of the present Cabinet,” continued he, “ there is however one Circumstance deeply to be regretted: I mean, “ the Loss which the Public will sustain by “ the Retreat from Office of a Gentleman, “ whose splendid Abilities may adorn any “ Situation. It is to be hoped that he will “ not remain long unemployed. Great Talents are public Property, and therefore “ the Public ought not to be deprived of “ them.” An extraordinary and anomalous Interval of Time followed Lord Shelburne’s Resignation, during which the Functions of Government may be said to have suffered a Suspension; while the King, the Ministry, and the Candidates for Power, stood looking at each other. William the Third never displayed more Steadiness or Determination, at any Period of his Life, either when Prince of Orange, or after his Elevation to the Crown of England, than George the Third manifested, throughout the whole of “ this Interregnum,” as it was denominated. Though his First Minister, from whatever Motives, had quitted him, he did not aban-

don himself, or forsake those Individuals who remained faithful to him. On the contrary, he made the most desperate Efforts to avoid passing under a Yoke, which he considered as equally painful to himself, and pernicious to his People.

The *Coalition*, having twice defeated Administration in the House of Commons, and having compelled Lord Shelburne to retire, considered the Business as effected, and their Triumph secure. Resting therefore on their Arms, without attempting to push their Advantages farther, they waited till the King should send to the two Leaders, in order to form a new Ministry. But, in this Expectation, however natural, they greatly deceived themselves. That Prince, as if conscious that Lord Shelburne constituted the principal, and the most vulnerable Object of Attack; having disembarrassed his Councils of the Weight that encumbered them, endeavoured to repair the Breach, and to form a new Rampart against Lord North and Fox. It might perhaps have been imagined, that the Presence of the former Nobleman in Cabinet, and the Share of Power which must necessarily be allotted to him

and his Friends, in the Formation of a new Government; would have tranquillized the King's Mind, by affording a Security against the Attempts or Character of the latter Statesman. But, he knew by the Experience of many Years, the Pliability and Easiness of Lord North's Nature: nor was he unacquainted with the Energy of Fox's Mind, or unapprized of the Efforts that he would probably make, in order to cement, and to perpetuate that Elevation, which he had now nearly attained with so much Difficulty. The King, who considered Fox as a Man ruined in Fortune, of an incorrect moral Conduct, and surrounded with a Crowd of Followers resembling him in these Particulars; deprecated, as the severest Misfortune to himself and to his Subjects, the Necessity of taking such a Person, however eminent for Capacity, into his Confidence or Councils. When we consider these Circumstances, we shall not wonder at the long, though ineffectual Resistance made by His Majesty, before he submitted to receive the Law from the *Coalition*.

[6th March.] Previous to Lord Shelburne's Resignation, and the Dissolution of

his Ministry, various Pensions having been granted to eminent Individuals, particularly one to the Chancellor, and a second to Lord Grantham; Powis brought the Subject before the House. Pitt stated the Circumstances attending these Grants, officially, from the Treasury Bench; and a very animated, as well as personal Discussion arose, in which Fox took a most prominent Part. He was peculiarly severe on Lord Thurlow, whom he supposed to form, by his Advice to the King, the principal Impediment to the Formation of a new Administration. “ I have long lived,” said he, “ on Terms of sincere private Friendship with that noble Person, who unquestionably possesses great Abilities: but I am nevertheless of Opinion, that they are exerted in a Manner most injurious to the true Interests of this Country.”—“ We are told,” continued he, “ by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that when Lord Grantham accepted the Office of Secretary for the Foreign Department, His Majesty promised him a Pension of two Thousand Pounds a Year, whenever he should leave the Office. What is this, except bribing Persons by Pensions, to assume Employments, for the

“Acceptance of which they betray no Inclination? By such Expedients, the Crown can always form an Administration, without regarding either the Approbation of Parliament, or the Confidence of the People.” Having thus animadverted on one Secretary of State, he turned round upon the other, Mr. Townsend, who on that very Day had been raised to the Peerage, by the Title of Lord Sydney. “No Man,” observed Fox, “entertains a higher Esteem for him than I do, or more sincerely wishes him loaded with Honours. Yet it seems a little extraordinary, that the Sovereign should think proper to remunerate those Ministers who have assisted in making a Peace, which, the more I contemplate it, the more Cause of Wonder do I find, at any Secretary of State having affixed his Signature to such Treaties.” From the absent, reverting to those who were present, he next attacked Dundas, who had recently obtained the Place of Keeper of the Signet in Scotland. After declaring that he meant nothing invidious, or personally offensive, Fox added, “All the World nevertheless wonders at so strange a Fact, as giving a Man an Office for Life, on Condition of his

“ taking another, the Treasurership of the
“ Navy, which may be regarded as nearly a
“ Sinecure. So absurd, as well as lavish a
“ Waste of the public Money, has, I believe,
“ no Precedent.” Towards the Conclusion
of his Speech, he once more fastened upon
the Chancellor, “ whose injurious Influ-
“ ence,” Fox declared, “ the Kingdom felt
“ at the present Moment.” Adding, “ If
“ those pernicious Exertions had not been
“ made, I fully believe, an Administration
“ would have been formed some Days ago,
“ which would have united the Confidence
“ of this House, and the Affection of the
“ People.”

No sooner had Fox concluded, than the
Lord Advocate rose, and having explained
the Circumstances that attended his Accept-
ance of the Place of Treasurer of the Navy;
—a Situation which, he candidly admitted,
was not one suited to him; he subjoined,
“ I will not however say that I am unfit for
“ the Office which I have obtained in Scot-
“ land; and as His Majesty has been pleased
“ to honour me with a Patent Place, I do
“ assure the Right Honorable Gentleman,
“ that I never will dishonour the Patent, by

“ carrying it to Market.” Dundas’s Allusion in these last Words, to the Sale or Exchange negotiated by Fox with Mr. Charles Jenkinson, to whom he sold the Clerkship of the Pells in Ireland, was too pointed, as well as personal, to be passed over in Silence. He instantly replied, that the Transaction in Question, had in it nothing dishonorable. “ I received,” said he, “ the Patent in Question, from my Father, as a Part of my Fortune, altogether unconnected with the Ministry of that Day, who first applied to me on the Subject. I consented to accommodate Government, though on very injurious Conditions for myself, as I parted with a Thing of considerably greater Value, than I received in return. This is the whole Affair, and no Man except the learned Lord ever thought it dishonorable or disgraceful in the slightest Degree.” Rigby confirmed Fox’s Statement in the most ample Manner. “ I was acquainted,” observed he, “ with every Part of the Bargain, which was perfectly honorable ; and in which there could be only one Thing censurable ; namely, that the Possessor of it gave away his Patent for less than its Worth.” George Byng ad-

ded, that the Place had no sooner passed out of Fox's Possession, into the Hands of Mr. Jenkinson, than its Value became augmented to the Amount of full a Thousand Pounds a Year. Here the Matter dropped : but, Rigby having stated in the Course of his Speech, that " though he did not approve of the late Coalition, yet he was ready to support any Administration, whether formed on a broad, or on a narrow Basis, which might rescue the Country from its present deplorable State ;" Courtenay exposed the Declaration to much Derision. " I give the worthy Gentleman, entire Credit for his Assurance," said he, " and I am persuaded, he is animated by no other Motive, except to preserve Peace and Unanimity ; to maintain the proper Equilibrium between the Crown and the People ; but, above all, to retain down to the last Moment possible, every *Balance* in his Hands."

[7th—23d March.] During the Course of the Month of March, every Measure was adopted on the Part of the King, that promised to frustrate the Hopes of the new Confederates. Earl Gower, to whom the

Place just vacated by Lord Shelburne, was offered, manifested the utmost Readiness to accept it, if the probable Means of maintaining himself there, could be demonstrated. But, by what Expedient could a Minority of the House of Commons, be converted by him at once into a Majority? The Difficulties being considered as insuperable, the Experiment was therefore at length abandoned. Meanwhile the *Coalition*, indignant at so long a Delay, began to manifest Symptoms of Impatience. The House of Commons having adjourned for some Days, after the Debate of the 21st of February, on a Motion to that Purpose, made by Mr. Dundas, with the View of allowing Time for a new ministerial Arrangement; Lord Maitland called on the Lord Advocate to state the Reasons, why a Successor had not been appointed to the Earl of Shelburne. This Fact took Place on the 28th of February: but, no Reply being returned to Lord Maitland's Enquiry, either by the Person to whom the Question was addressed, or from any Individual seated on the Treasury Bench, though Pitt himself was present, the Subject proceeded no further. Things remained in this State during more than a

Fortnight, it being perfectly understood that His Majesty was occupied in unceasing Exertions, to prop or to recreate the Administration. At length, on the 18th of March, Mr. Coke, Member for the County of Norfolk, having given Notice that if no Ministry should be formed in the Course of two Days, he would move an Address to the Crown, on the Subject; the King, conceiving it dangerous, as well as useless, to protract the Contest, sent his Commands to the Duke of Portland and Lord North, to wait upon him at St. James's. I have been assured that at the Audience which took Place, His Majesty offered to concede every Point in Litigation, except one; namely, that Lord Thurlow should not be deprived of the Great Seal. If that Nobleman, he said, were permitted to remain in Office, he would allow the new Ministers to dispose of all other Employments at their Pleasure. But, no Arguments could induce the *Coalition* to relax upon so essential an Article. Fox equally disliked and dreaded the Chancellor, whose Intractability, when added to his Influence over the Royal Mind, in a Place which rendered him the Director of his Sovereign's Conscience; exposed the

new Candidates for Office, to perpetual Danger. They insisted peremptorily on putting the Great Seal into Commission. Their Proposition being as firmly rejected by his Majesty, the Conference terminated without any Progress or beneficial Result.

Just at this critical Juncture died the Honorable Dr. Frederick Cornwallis, Archbishop of Canterbury; a Man of amiable Character, though not distinguished by the eminent Virtues of Tillotson, or the Talents of Laud. The King, who well knew that the *Coalition*, or in other Words, that Fox, had destined that great ecclesiastical Elevation, for Shipley, Bishop of St. Asaph, or for Hinchcliffe, Bishop of Peterborough; probably, for the former of them; and who was also aware that if he wished to dispose of it, himself, he had not an Hour to lose; immediately sent for Dr. Hurd, Bishop of Worcester. That excellent Prelate, whose Piety and Learning rendered him one of the Ornaments, as well as Pillars, of the Anglican Church, having waited on His Majesty, was informed by him, that the See of Canterbury had become vacant; and that, as he knew no Person, in his Opinion, more

worthy to fill the Metropolitan Chair, he wished the Bishop to accept it. He added, that in the actual Position of public Affairs, when he might, every Day, be compelled to take new Ministers into his Councils, he hoped that the Bishop would interpose no unnecessary Delay. But, Dr. Hurd, far from desiring a Dignity so much sought after, besought the King to excuse him for declining it; stating, that neither his Health, nor his Frame of Mind, were adequate to the extended Duties of the Metropolitan See, though equal to fulfilling the more limited Functions of his own Diocese. His Majesty having, not without great Reluctance, yielded to these Reasons, then insisted that the Bishop should at least name the Person, whom he conceived most proper to succeed Dr. Cornwallis. Hurd, without long Hesitation, mentioned Dr. Louth, Bishop of London; and a Messenger was instantly dispatched to find him, at his House in St. James's Square. The Bishop arriving in a very short Time, had no sooner entered the Closet, than the King made him the same Proposition which he had done to Hurd. Extraordinary as it may appear, he met from that Prelate with a similar Refusal; and one

not less sincere, as well as inflexible, than the former. In this unexpected Predicament, the King addressing himself to them both, said, "My Lords, I will not press either of you further : but, before you leave this Room, you must recommend a proper Successor to the deceased Archbishop ; and whomsoever you shall agree to Name, I will accept." The two Prelates having requested to be allowed a short Time for consulting together, after a few Minutes' Deliberation, without quitting the Royal Presence, united in nominating Dr. John Moore, Bishop of Bangor. Being sent for to St. James's, on his Arrival, to his no small Astonishment, he learned the Reasons for which he had been summoned to Court. He accepted the Preferment ; but, the requisite Forms incident to the *Congé d'elire*, and other Ceremonies indispensable to the Election, prevented the Translation from being completed before the second of the following Month ;—the very Day on which the King having surrendered at Discretion, the *Coalition* actually took Possession of the Government.

Dr. Moore, whom we have beheld during

two and twenty Years, Archbishop of Canterbury; and who owed his Elevation to that high Dignity, to the joint Recommendations of Hurd and Louth; was a Prelate of an irreproachable Life, added to a solid Understanding. But, his first Advance in the ecclesiastical Profession, arose from one of those Accidents, which, (whatever Juvenal may have said to the contrary,) sometimes seem to determine, no less than Merit, the Colour of our Fate. The Duchess Dowager of Marlborough, after the late Duke's Decease in 1758, having Occasion for a Tutor to superintend the Education of her youngest Son, the present Lord Robert Spencer; applied to the Dean of Christ Church, Oxford, requesting him to recommend a proper Person to her for the Purpose. I have been assured, that Mr. Moore, then a Servitor of that College, of very obscure Birth and Connexions; happening to cross the Quadrangle, at the precise Moment of this Application; it immediately occurred to the Dean's Mind, that he would answer the Description of the Tutor demanded by the Duchess. He hesitated nevertheless for some Time, whether he should make the Proposition to Mr. Moore; her Grace having posi-

tively insisted on his stipulating, that whatever Individual she should receive into her Family, in Quality of Preceptor to her Son, should not be admitted to have the Honour of dining at her Table. The Offer, when made by the Dean, was however accepted under that Exclusion : but, so rapid became Mr. Moore's Progress in her personal Esteem, no less than in her Affection, that within a very short Time she found herself unable to dine without him. Her Preference assumed even so decided a Character, as to leave him no Room to doubt of her Inclination, if he had encouraged it, notwithstanding the prodigious Disparity of their respective Situations in Life; to have bestowed her Hand on him in Marriage. Instead of thus acting, as a Man of narrow or selfish Views would have done, his Sense of Honour and Delicacy of Sentiment, led him to communicate the Advances made him by the Duchess, to her Son, the late Duke. A Conduct so highly disinterested, and Principles so elevated, could not fail ultimately to meet their just Reward. By the Duke of Marlborough's Interest, being promoted in the Church, he was in Progress of Time made Dean of Canterbury; from which Situation he soon be-

came Bishop of Bangor: passing through no other intermediate Episcopal Stage, till he attained to the Metropolitan Dignity. Such an Impression indeed had his Merit and Character produced, while he remained at Canterbury, that on his Promotion to the See of Bangor, all those Persons who came to take Leave of him, expressed their full Conviction of his returning to them again as Archbishop. “We console ourselves, Mr. “Dean,” said they, “for losing you at present, by the confident Expectation which “we entertain of your speedy Restoration “to us.” I return to the Course of public Affairs.

On the complete Failure of the first Attempt already mentioned, which His Majesty made to form a new Administration; many Propositions were suggested to prop and renovate the still existing Ministry, however difficult such a Work might justly be esteemed under the actual Circumstances. Mr. Pitt, desirous to meet the King's Wishes on a Point, which coincided with all his own Objects of personal Elevation and Ambition; suffered himself to be persuaded to promise that he would accept the Post of

First Lord of the Treasury, in Addition to the Office of Chancellor of the Exchequer: and during twenty-four Hours, he might be said to have in some Measure actually held both those Offices. But, at the End of a short Time, finding it impracticable, after full Examination, to set up any Government which promised Duration, or which could make Head against the *Coalition* in the House of Commons, he reluctantly retracted his Engagement. Reduced almost to Despair by so many Disappointments, and unable to effect his Emancipation, the King unquestionably meditated the extraordinary Project of visiting his Electoral Dominions, and relinquishing for a Time to the *Coalition*, the Power of which they had forcibly possessed themselves. But, on communicating his Intentions to the Chancellor, that Minister, far from encouraging the Proposition, gave it his strongest Disapprobation. “ There is nothing easier, Sir,” said he, with his characteristic Severity of Voice and Manner, “ than to go over to Hanover. It may “ not however prove so easy to return from “ thence to this Country, when your Majes- “ ty becomes tired of Germany. Recollect “ the Precedent of James the Second, who

“precipitately embraced a similar Expedi-
“ent. Your Majesty must not think for a
“Moment, of adopting so imprudent and
“hazardous a Step. Time and Patience will
“open a Remedy to the present Evils.” The
King, happily for himself, acquiesced in
Lord Thurlow’s wise and wholesome Advice.

[24th March.] While these interesting
Scenes passed at St. James’s, the House of
Commons, completely in the Hands of the
Coalition, proceeded, though with great
apparent Caution and external Testimonies
of Respect, to press the Sovereign by every
constitutional Means, that he would put an
End to the Interregnum; which Fox deno-
minated in the strong Language familiar to
him, “the most insolent Domination that
“ever disgraced a free Country.” Mr.
Coke, after repeated Delays, having moved
an Address to His Majesty, entreating him
“to form an Administration entitled to the
Confidence of the People;” one of the most
interesting Conversations, rather than De-
bates, took Place, at which I ever assisted;
near four Hundred Persons being present.
It was opened by the Member for Norfolk,
in mild and temperate Language: but, the

Earl of Surrey, who seconded the Motion, did not observe equal Delicacy or Reserve in his Expressions, which, as I thought, had always a Tincture in them, of Democracy. “ I admit,” said he, “ that a high Respect is due to the Sovereign ; but, not less Respect is due to the People.—It is impossible to go on longer without a Government ; and therefore, exceptionable as the present Motion may be, I shall support it, because I am convinced, if this House does not call for an Administration, the People will demand it in a Manner painful to the Crown, and injurious to the public Interests.” Various Individuals having inveighed in animated Terms, against the *Coalition*, Fox rose in Order to justify the Measure, and at the same Time to state his Opinions on the actual Condition of the Country. “ What-
“ ever,” observed Fox, “ may be His Majes-
“ ty’s private Feelings or Opinions at the
“ present Moment, when all Government is
“ suspended, he never can act wrong, unless
“ he is ill advised. It becomes therefore pro-
“ per to declare from whom he could receive
“ that injurious Advice ; and the Channel
“ through which it comes, cannot be Matter
“ of Doubt. The Nation has now remained

“ near five Weeks, in a State without Precedent, and without ostensible Ministers.”—
“ If ever there was a Time that imperiously demanded the Oblivion of former Animosities and ancient Prejudices, it is the present Moment. The Situation of the Country renders indispensable, a Coalition of Parties ; and in Order to attain an Object so salutary, by composing an Administration on a broad, as well as a permanent Basis, *I am ready to shake Hands even with the Persons opposite to me, no less than with the noble Lord in the blue Ribband near me ; thus forming out of the three Parties, such a Government as the Public may regard with Confidence.*” Having denied in the strongest Terms, that the Delay in composing a new Administration, had arisen from any Disputes between the two Heads of Parties recently united ; he launched out into severe Reflections, or more properly to speak, Accusations, against the Individuals who during more than a Month had governed the Country. “ A Government,” continued Fox, “ not conducted by avowed Ministers, by a First Lord of the Treasury, or by Secretaries of State, those Instruments and Puppets of other Agents : but, by the

“ Persons themselves, who have hitherto
“ been supposed to possess secret Influence,
“ and who now stand forward, as the private
“ Advisers of His Majesty to act in Opposi-
“ tion to the Wishes of his People, and to
“ the declared Sense of one House of Par-
“ liament.”

Even if the Intention of these Words, could have been mistaken, Fox, by fixing his Eyes on Jenkinson, who was present when he pronounced them, rendered their Application obvious to every Hearer. Then alluding to the Chancellor, “ If,” continued he, “ we would know who has governed the “ Kingdom, and ill advised the Sovereign, “ we have only to repair to the upper “ House. There, the great Adviser may be “ seen in his true Character. We shall there “ find Sullenness, Delay, Impediments to “ public Business of every Kind, and all the “ Features that characterize the present In- “ terregnum.” Charges so invidious, as well as personal, were not suffered to remain without an immediate Reply. Governor Johnstone starting up as soon as Fox had concluded; with his characteristic Impetuosity of Gesture and Language, retorted on

Fox the Imputations with which he had loaded Lord Thurlow. After passing the highest Encomiums on the Talents, Firmness, and Integrity of that great Law Officer, whom, he said, he considered us one of the Pillars of the State; he reminded Fox of the Eulogiums which he had pronounced on this very Nobleman, when composing a Member of Lord North's Administration. "Did he not then declare," exclaimed Johnstone, "that the Chancellor formed the
" only Exception to the Cabinet of that Pe-
" riod; who alone ought, from his superior
" Endowments of Mind and of Character, to
" be continued in his high Office, after the
" Dissolution of that Ministry?" With more Temper, Calmness, and Command of himself, Jenkinson vindicated the Line of Conduct which he had held under the existing Circumstances. He was heard with general and profound Attention. "I stand up," said he, "to refute the Insinuation of being
" an evil Adviser of His Majesty, and to
" deny the Existence of secret Influence be-
" hind the Throne, in the unwarrantable
" Sense of those Expressions. But, the
" Prerogative of the Crown is not so limited,
" as to proscribe any Privy Counsellor from

“ having Access to the Presence of the So-
“ vereign, or to preclude him from offering
“ his Advice, if called on to deliver his Opi-
“ nion. If His Majesty is graciously pleased
“ to command my Attendance, I am com-
“ pelled in Duty to obey the Summons. I
“ confess that during the last five Weeks, I
“ have been with him more than once. I ne-
“ ver went, except on official Business ; nor
“ did I ever use any secret Influence. That
“ Idea is only a Trap for the credulous
“ Multitude. It exists solely in Imagina-
“ tion, and is now started merely for politi-
“ cal Purposes, to which the Members of
“ this House cannot be Strangers.”—“ I ap-
“ peal to the noble Lord in the blue Rib-
“ band, seated near the Right Honorable
“ Gentleman, with whom I had the Honour
“ of serving for ten Years ; whether my As-
“ sertion is true or false ; and whether that
“ pretended secret Influence so insidiously
“ suggested, ever had any real Existence.
“ Not only do I appeal to the noble Lord,
“ but, I invoke him to declare it ; and so im-
“ plicit is my Reliance on his innate Princi-
“ ples of Honour, that I submit to abide by
“ his Determination.”

Convincing as this Defence may be esteemed, and as I regard it, yet Fox by no Means acquiesced in the Truth or Solidity of its Reasoning. "I admit," said he in Reply, "that in his Capacity of a Privy Counsellor, the Right Honorable Member is entitled to offer the King his Advice. He has a Right so to do: but, *not to give it in Secret*. There lies the Rub. Let the Advice be public, and in the Face of the Council. There can then be neither Cause of Suspicion, nor can it be productive of Injury. As the Matter stands, it assumes a widely different Aspect." Lord North, when called upon by Jenkinson, could not remain silent. In the Progress of a Speech conceived with great Ability, and tempered by the Suavity of his Disposition, he endeavoured to justify his Union with Fox, as being an Act founded on public Expediency, if not absolute Necessity. "Those Persons," observed he, "who reprobate the present Coalition, forget that it is almost impossible to find in this Assembly, any Individuals now acting together, who have not differed materially on great and important Points. The Administration ex-

“ isting,—if we can be said to have any;—
“ is so composed. And when it is consi-
“ dered that there are three great Parties in
“ the Nation, two must unite, in Order to
“ form a Coalition. All Men seem to agree,
“ that an Administration ought to be con-
“ stituted on as broad a Basis as possible.
“ Perhaps it is meant a *Ministry composed*
“ *of all the three Parties. If such be their*
“ *Meaning, I have not any Objection to*
“ *coincide with them in Opinion.* The di-
“ vided and distracted state of the Empire,
“ demands a Combination of all eminent
“ Abilities.” Alluding finally to the Appeal
made by Mr. Jenkinson, “I am called on,”
added he, “by a Friend, to declare whether,
“ during my Administration, I ever found
“ any secret Influence lurking behind the
“ Throne, subversive of my Measures or In-
“ tentions. *I will freely avow that I never*
“ *did.* I have frequently, while in Office,
“ received Advice from that Right Honor-
“ able Gentleman: but I never knew that he
“ had given any secret Advice to his Sove-
“ reign, which he was not ready publicly to
“ justify, if the Occasion demanded it.” No
Declaration could be less equivocal, nor
better calculated to undeceive the Believers

in secret Influence. But, the Opinion, which dated from a very early Period of the King's Reign, had taken too deep a Hold of the public Mind, and was sustained with too much Art, to be eradicated, although by such Testimonies. Even at the present Day, that Conviction is by no Means extinct.

Pitt may be said to have terminated the Discussion under our Review; and never, not even on the 21st of the preceding Month, when on the Point of laying down his official Situation, did he appear to me more an Object of just Admiration! Lord North and Fox having formed their political Union, had, both, successively, in the Course of addressing the House on that Evening, offered to receive him into their Coalition. It rested with *Him* to have composed one of the new *Triumvirate*, in which he assuredly would not have occupied the meanest Place. He might have continued at the Head of the Exchequer under the Duke of Portland, as he had been under Lord Shelburne. The Odium of the *Coalition* could not have attached to *Him*, who had not contributed in the most remote Degree to its Formation.

Power, and Office, and the Emoluments of Place, lay open to him, and seemed to solicit his Acceptance: while, on the other Side, he beheld the thorny Path of the Law, or a more sterile and unproductive Attendance on Parliament, as his only certain Resources. From his official and splendid Residence in Downing Street, he must remove to Chambers in one of the Inns of Court. His Fortune was narrow, and his Ambition immeasurable. Yet, placed in a Situation so trying to human Nature, his elevated Mind, superior to Circumstances, aided by a Judgment far beyond his Years, enabled him to appreciate, and to reject, the glittering Proposition. Perhaps he foresaw that an Alliance, such as had been made between two Heads of Party so discordant;—an Alliance equally odious to the Sovereign, and to the Majority of the Nation;—however apparently solid might be its Foundations, could prove of no Duration. Probably he even anticipated, at no remote Distance of Time, his own future ministerial Triumph over the two new Allies. Yet even admitting these Facts, his Line of Conduct does not excite less Astonishment, nor detract from his pre-eminent Merit.

In his Reply to the Offers of the two Coalition Chiefs, he seemed to be impelled and animated by Feelings of a higher Description than mere Power could satisfy, unless accompanied by Self-Approbation, and conscious Rectitude. "There are Persons," said he, "who can easily reconcile to their Minds, the Sacrifice of old Principles, and who with Ease adopt new Rules of Conduct. However such Modes of acting, may agree with tried Constitutions and long Habits of Change, I am as yet too young to relinquish my Opinions, and to conform my Ideas to the Tide of Interest, or to the Triumphs of Party. I have formed one great Principle which regulates my Conduct, and which has taken too deep Root in my Bosom, to be erased even by myself. The Honorable Gentlemen on the opposite Benches, talk of extinguishing Animosities, and modifying or changing their political Opinions, just as they would change their Gloves. The same Acts or Measures which to-day they reprobate, tomorrow they applaud. Those Persons, whom in the Morning they hate and condemn, they esteem it honorable, conscientious, and patriotic, to take to

“their Bosom in the Evening. Such
“Maxims are repugnant to my Nature. I
“cannot coalesce with Men, whose Senti-
“ments are diametrically opposed to my
“own; because, if they come over to my
“Ways of thinking, I can place no Confi-
“dence in them; and if I were to adopt
“their Principles, I should act against my
“honest Judgment. Parties, so constituted,
“can have no long Continuance. There
“may be a seeming Harmony, while their
“Interests point the same Road: but, only
“a Similarity of Ideas can render political
“Friendships permanent.”—“I therefore,”
continued he, “think it indispensable for me
“explicitly to declare, that *I cannot induce*
“*myself to adopt the Mode of Reasoning,*
“*by which the present grand Coalition is*
“*defended or justified; and that my Prin-*
“*ciples will not conform themselves to the*
“*present Times.*” I was a Witness of the
involuntary Applause extorted by this lofty
and disinterested Declaration, which at once
extinguished every Hope of Pitt’s uniting
with the *Coalition*. He preferred to reserve
himself for future Occasions of coming for-
ward in public Life, rather than to purchase
present Office, by the Dereliction of those

Rules of Action, which he had laid down for his Guidance, in, and out of Parliament. No Reply to so hostile and decided an Avowal, was made by either of the Opposition Chiefs: but, Mr. Coke's proposed Address to the Throne, being put, was carried, though not unanimously, yet without any Division.

[25th—31st March.] His Majesty, nevertheless, having given a vague and inexplicit Answer to the Address, by which no Information was in Fact conveyed relative to the Appointment of new Ministers, Lord Surrey agitated the Subject again on the 27th; and after complaining of the injurious Consequences that resulted to the State, from a Suspension of all Government, concluded by a Notice, or rather a Menace, that, if the vacant Offices were not filled up within four Days, he would move for an Enquiry into the Causes of such Delay. Lord North, on the other Hand, deprecated all Interference in the present State of the Business, as disrespectful to the Sovereign, whose gracious Message claimed, he said, the Gratitude of the House. The Month of March meanwhile rapidly approached its Termina-

tion; nor was it till the 31st, that the King, having exhausted every Effort for reconstructing an Administration, of which Pitt would have formed the Head; finding the Experiment hopeless, as well as impracticable, reluctantly accepted his Resignation. Lord Surrey rising in his Place on that Day, just at the Time when Pitt entered the House, instantly demanded of him, whether any new Ministers were yet appointed, or what Steps had been taken for the Purpose? His Reply, which informed the House that he was no longer Chancellor of the Exchequer, gave Rise to a Conversation of no common Interest, and of considerable Length, during which, many curious Facts were communicated from various Sides of the Assembly. The Lord Advocate of Scotland, as an Excuse for the long Period of Time which had elapsed since the Resignation of the first Lord of the Treasury; ingenuously avowed that his Majesty had fully designed to place Mr. Pitt in that Office, and to form a new Government under his Auspices:—a Determination which the King had only relinquished within two Hours of the Moment when he was occupied in addressing the House. A Declara-

tion so mortifying to the *Coalition*, did not pass unnoticed or uncensured by Fox. After inveighing indirectly against Pitt, as the principal Cause of so culpable a Suspension of the Functions of Government; and stating that while he remained at the Head of the Exchequer, he must be held responsible for every Measure performed in his official Capacity; Fox seized the Occasion offered, to renew the Charge of secret Influence against Mr. Jenkinson.

Sir William Dolben, when alluding to the Mention which had already been made of that pretended Interference, in the Course of a late Debate; having observed that he should call for more than mere Insinuation or Assertion, to convince him of its Reality; Fox triumphantly appealed to Jenkinson's own Admission. "The Fact," exclaimed he, "at which, down to the present Time, Suspicion has only glanced, Exultation has avowed. I have not only learned more than I antecedently knew, but, more than I ever expected to have heard. I have learned that a Privy Counsellor, though he is not a Minister, may offer his Sovereign Advice, and not be accountable

“ for its Effects. Surely, this House will
“ never sanction a Doctrine so replete with
“ Danger to the State. How are we to
“ know the Nature of the Advice given, ex-
“ cept by its Effects? And if that Right
“ Honorable Gentleman has given Advice
“ to His Majesty in the present Instance,
“ *He* is the culpable Person. The noble
“ Lord in the blue Ribband, near me, when
“ called on by him, on a recent Occasion, to
“ declare whether he ever found any of his
“ Plans or Measures frustrated by a con-
“ cealed Influence, answered, I allow, in the
“ Negative. But, it must be remembered
“ that the Individual in Question, was a
“ Friend and Supporter of that Administra-
“ tion. What would the Consequence be,
“ if a Ministry, whose Views and Principles
“ were opposed to his; should find their
“ Objects subverted, and all their Projects
“ overturned, by a Person not in any Way
“ responsible for his Advice? How could
“ they act in such a Case? A virtuous Ad-
“ ministration would have no other Alterna-
“ tive, than to signify their Disapprobation of
“ the Interference, by the Resignation of their
“ Employments.” I confess that these Obser-

vations have always appeared to me, to grow out of the British Constitution, which demands, as a primary Principle, Responsibility. Pitt offered no Reply to that Part of Fox's Speech; but he reiterated in the most decisive Terms, his fixed Determination to hold himself wholly unconnected with any political Description of Men. "I will abide," said he, "by the Declaration which I made on a former Occasion. I will take no active Part, either for, or against any Party; but, shall be wholly guided in my Conduct, by the Measures pursued. It will not be without the utmost Reluctance, that I shall oppose any Administration whatever; nor will I do it, unless impelled by a strong Conviction of their acting injuriously to the public Interests." Having stated that he held himself responsible for every Act performed by him as Chancellor of the Exchequer, down to the Moment of his Resignation; he concluded by deprecating Lord Surrey's Motion as precipitate, and recommending that it should be withdrawn without a Division.

Lord North was by no means silent during this interesting Debate, the last which

took Place on the State of public Affairs, in the lower House of Parliament, previous to the *Coalition* assuming Possession of the Government. With equal Eloquence and Ability he endeavoured to shew, that the Arguments urged against a Junction of Parties, on the Ground of antecedent Differences of Opinion, were futile, and incapable of being maintained by Men of Candour, or of enlarged Minds. He must nevertheless have felt, how much more dignified and elevated was his Position, while holding the Balance, as he might in some Measure be said to do, between Pitt and Fox, than when merged in the Vortex of the latter Luminary. Of the Loss that he sustained in public Opinion by joining the Rockingham Party, he received many painful Intimations. Governor Johnstone observed during the Debate of the 24th of March, that “ the noble Lord in “ the blue Ribband, till within the last few “ Weeks, enjoyed as much of the national “ Confidence, as any Individual in the King- “ dom. His Character, as it became more “ generally understood, acquired daily more “ Respect and Strength: but,” added Johnstone, “ *the present Coalition has unques-*

*tionably shaken him in the Estimation of
“ many of his Friends.”* Sir William Dolben, of whose cordial Support, Lord North must have felt the deepest Sense, as it was given him during the most critical Period of his Administration; expressed himself on the Evening of the 31st of March, in equally intelligible Language. After *catechizing*, if I may use the Term, Lord North, respecting the Conditions, which, it was commonly supposed, the new Allies attempted to dictate to the King, before they would take Office; and hearing that Nobleman’s indignant Denial of the imputed Facts;—Sir William, while he manifested his Dissatisfaction at the bare Idea of invading the constitutional Prerogative of the Sovereign, added, “ The independent Country Gentlemen, who
“ have uniformly supported the noble Lord
“ in the blue Ribband, have done it from
“ Approbation of his Principles, not from
“ his political Power or Influence. If there-
“ fore he expects a Continuance of their
“ Support, after his Junction with the Party
“ which so long opposed him; *he must act
“ in a Manner consistent with his former
“ Character and Professions.”*

Fox, aided by Burke, exerted all his Powers of Persuasion, in proving to the House, the insuperable Necessity of his coalescing with Lord North. Endeavouring to enforce a Doctrine so indispensable for his own Justification, he observed, “ The principal Cause of our Dispute, has been done away by the Termination of the American War. On various other Points we still differ; but we are not more at Variance than the present Chancellor, and the Master-General of the Ordnance; or than the Secretary of State for the Southern, and the Secretary for the Northern Department; or than the Right Honorable Gentleman opposite me, (Pitt,) and the learned Lord his Friend, (Dundas,) seated near him, have differed in Sentiment upon great constitutional Points. This Country can only flourish, her Glory can only be maintained, or her Commerce be preserved, by Unanimity within these Walls.” However just or solid such Principles may be in themselves, their Application in the Persons of Lord North and Fox, did not obtain general Approbation. Even among those who supported, many disapproved or condemned their Union. An Oblivion of all past Recri-

minations, though it might be dictated by Ambition, and vindicated by Policy, yet seemed to imply a mutual Sacrifice of Principle. Both the Heads of Party lost much of their Popularity; and their Possession of Power, neither reposing on royal Favour, nor on the Approbation of the People, proved to be without any deep Foundation. These Reflections were however obliterated by present Success. Lord Surrey, having been induced to withdraw his Motion, on the Presumption that a Ministry would be formed in the Course of a very few Days, the House adjourned. Nor were those Expectations frustrated:—for, within forty-eight Hours afterwards, His Majesty, finding it vain to protract his Resistance, and impossible to set up any Administration with a Chance of Success; surrendered at Discretion, by sending a second Time for the Duke of Portland.

[2d April.] If we consider, by the Abstract Principles of the British Constitution, as recognized at the Revolution of 1688, which compels the Sovereign to listen to the Voice of the Majority of the House of Commons; the Conduct of George the Third, in

resisting for near six Weeks, their Votes, and their Addresses:—if we reflect moreover, that the Consequence of his Pertinacity, produced a Suspension of many of the essential and vital Functions of the Executive Government; at a Moment too, when the Exertions of a vigorous Administration were peculiarly demanded, in order to reduce various of the Military and Naval Establishments, to the Standard of Peace:—if we try his Actions by these Criteria, we may be tempted to accuse him of sacrificing national Objects, to the Gratification of his private Resentments or Prejudices. But, Speculation and Practice often lead to such opposite Conclusions, that it becomes unsafe to reason always from the former, however solid may appear the Foundations. It is certain, that though the Country anxiously desired to see an efficient Government established, and deeply lamented the Want of it for so long a Time; yet, the King by no means suffered in the Estimation of his People at large, on Account of the desperate Contest that he had maintained against the *Coalition*.

The Nation in general regarded the Union

formed between Lord North and Fox, as a mutual Sacrifice of moral and political Principle, to Ambition, or rather, to the Love of Office. In vain did those Leaders endeavour to justify it, by recurring to past Periods of our History, in particular, to the Year 1757, when similar Coalitions were known to have been made between contending Factions. The Interval of eleven Months, which had scarcely elapsed since Fox and Burke were accustomed, Day by Day, to denounce their new Ally, as the most incapable, subservient, and criminal of Ministers, appeared too short; and the Transition from Enmity to Friendship, seemed too sudden, to admit of being easily or satisfactorily explained to vulgar Comprehension. His Majesty's Principles, however mistaken they might be, were admitted to be upright, and intentionally directed always to the Felicity of his Subjects. America, which had so long formed the Object of Contest, being lost; with the Termination of the War, terminated likewise the King's Unpopularity, which had principally originated from that Source:—while on the other Hand, Fox, who during several Years had stood so high in the Estimation of the People, as a Patriot; now

in his Turn attracted severe Observations on his recent Junction with a Minister, the Author, as he asserted, of all the Misfortunes which he had eloquently depicted, and which were still deplored throughout the Country. These Sentiments and Opinions, which began already to operate, and which only required Time to mature, protected the King against any Effects of popular Disapprobation. But, they could not prevent, or longer protract his Surrender to the combined Leaders, who now compelled him to receive them into his Counsels, without further Delay.

In the Audience that he gave the Duke of Portland, for the Purpose of forming a new Administration, he did not affect to conceal, or even to disguise, the painful Emotions by which he was agitated on the Occasion. He observed to that Nobleman, that the ministerial Arrangement to which he now submitted, being altogether compulsory, the new Ministers might dispose of the Cabinet Places and other Offices, as they should think proper: that he would not oppose, or refuse his Signature, to any Act presented to him officially for his Sanction; but, that the Re-

sponsibility of advising such Measures, must wholly rest with them. And he added, that he would not create any new British Peers, at their Recommendation; a Circumstance, of which he gave them distinct, and early Notification. The *Coalition* having acquiesced, at least tacitly, in these avowed Principles of the King's Conduct, took Possession of the Government; the Duke of Portland being placed at the Head of the Treasury; and Lord John Cavendish a second Time becoming Chancellor of the Exchequer. Fox returned to the Foreign Office, as was naturally to be expected; leaving to Lord North, the Secretaryship of State for the Home Department. Lord Keppel, who, disapproving of the Conditions of the late Peace, had resigned the Post of First Lord of the Admiralty, immediately after its Conclusion, in which high Employment he had been replaced by Lord Howe; was reinstated in his ancient Functions: while Lord Stormont became President of the Council. I have been assured that the Nobleman last mentioned, did not accept that Situation, till he had clearly understood, as he conceived, the King's Pleasure upon the Subject; who not only approved, but, wished him to take the

Office, as it would exclude an Enemy from occupying so important a Place. Yet it is difficult to reconcile this asserted Permission and Approbation, with the Resentment that His Majesty is known to have subsequently expressed, at Lord Stormont's thus actively joining the *Coalition*. The Privy Seal was lastly given to the Earl of Carlisle.

By this new Ministerial Arrangement, the Cabinet, which, under Lord North had consisted of *nine* Individuals; and which, under the two succeeding Administrations, was augmented to *eleven*; became reduced to *seven* Persons. At first Inspection, there seemed however to be something like an equal Distribution of Power, between the two Leaders and Parties who had recently coalesced; the Rockingham Party reckoning *four*, and their new Allies counting *three* Votes. But, on closer Examination, the Fallacy became palpable, and it was evident that Fox in Reality possessed the whole Authority of Government. Not only he commanded a numerical Majority: he likewise held the Treasury under his complete Influence. Nor was this the single Circumstance, that gave him a preponderating

Weight in every Measure or Deliberation. The Energy and Activity of his Talents, when contrasted with the Flexibility and Indolence of Lord North, doubled his personal, as well as political Consequence. His three Friends in the Cabinet, were more-over incapable, if they had even been desirous, of setting Limits to his Ambition, or of restraining his Ascendancy. To Fox, the Duke of Portland might indeed be said to owe his Elevation to the Post of First Lord of the Treasury; an Eminence, to which his own very moderate Abilities, though sustained by his high Rank, could not of themselves have conducted him. In like Manner, Lord Keppel stood indebted for both his Place and his Peerage, principally to Fox. Lord John Cavendish, from his great hereditary Connexions, and recognized Integrity of Character, might be esteemed, it is true, an Honor and an Ornament to any Ministry: but, though independent in Mind and in Fortune, yet he appeared to be not the less under Fox's intellectual Dominion, who on all Occasions propelled and guided him, in, and out of Parliament. Lord North, on the contrary, by no means possessed, or exerted, the same Influence over his two Ca-

binet Adherents, as Fox maintained among his Co-adjutors: Lord Stormont in particular, might be considered as wholly independent of Lord North's Controul. Nor did the Offices of President of the Council, and of Privy Seal, in themselves confer the same active Rights of Ministerial Interference, as did the Treasury, the Exchequer, and the Admiralty; all which Departments lay in Fox's Partition of Employments. These Circumstances are not unessential, when we speculate on the State of public Affairs under the Duumvirs; and may partly explain the Causes, from which arose some of the most affirmative Measures, subsequently adopted by the *Coalition*.

If Fox, however, took effectual Care to secure the real Power of the State in his own Hands, he in Return allowed Lord North to bestow many of the great ostensible Situations about the Court, among his immediate Friends. The Earl of Dartmouth, instead of Privy Seal, the Cabinet Office that he had formerly held, was made Lord Steward: while the Earl of Hertford appeared again in the Drawing Room, re-invested with his white Wand of Lord Cham-

berlain. Lord Townsend, restored to his ancient Employment, replaced the Duke of Richmond at the Head of the Ordnance. He was a Nobleman of very considerable Ability, but, of great Eccentricity of Manners and Character, which seemed sometimes to approach almost to Alienation of Mind. Cheerful in his Disposition, void of all Pride or Affectation, communicative, affable, convivial, facetious, and endowed with uncommon Powers of Conversation, he was formed to acquire Popularity. He eminently possessed the dangerous Talent of drawing Caricatures; a Faculty which he did not always restrain within the Limits of severe Prudence, though he no more spared himself, than he did others. It is well known that he drew his own Portrait, habited in the State Dress of Lord Lieutenant, having his Hands tied behind him, in Order to shew how destitute he was of political Power, or of the Means of conferring Favours. This allegorical Picture, I have been assured, was hung up in a private Cabinet of the Castle at Dublin; and when solicited to bestow Offices or Rewards, over which he had no Controul, he used to conduct the importunate Suitor into the Room;

at the same Time asking him if he recognized the Likeness, and understood the Application. In Ireland, while administering the Affairs of that Kingdom during five Years, he gave general Satisfaction ; and I remember Courtenay eulogizing him in the House of Commons, in the Language which Horace uses to Augustus.

“ Longas, o utinam, Dux bone, Ferias
Præstes *Hiberniæ* ; dicimus integro
Sicci manè Die, dicimus uvidi,
Quum Sol Oceano subest.”

Indeed, not one of the Viceroy's sent over to Dublin in the Course of twelve Years, between 1772 and 1784, could compete with Lord Townsend in the Affection of the Irish. Lord Harcourt was too grave and measured in his Manners ; the Earl of Buckinghamshire had too cold, stiff, and lofty a Deportment ; Lord Carlisle was too fine a Gentleman, and too highly bred ; the Duke of Portland and Earl Temple, both, either from Disinclination, or from physical Inability, observed too rigorously the Virtues of Temperance and Abstemiousness ; Virtues by no Means congenial to the Soil :—lastly, Lord Northington was too infirm in his Health, to acquire general Attachment in a

Country, where no Qualities, however eminent or meritorious, could recommend to national Approbation, unless accompanied by personal Sacrifices and Exertions of various Kinds. The Duke of Rutland, whom Pitt sent over to the Sister Kingdom, early in 1784; by the Magnificence of his Establishment, the Conviviality of his Temper, and the Excesses of his Table; in all which Particulars he resembled his Father, the Marquis of Granby;—obliterated or superseded Lord Townsend in their Regard: but, he paid for the Triumph with his Life, falling a Victim in the Vigor of his Age, within four Years, to his Irregularities.

Mr Charles Townsend, commonly called “Spanish Charles,” from the Circumstance of his having formerly acted as Secretary to the English Embassy at Madrid; and whom Pitt created with nine other Individuals, a Peer, in 1797, by the Title of Lord Bayning; was made Treasurer of the Navy. Wallace though labouring under ill Health, became once more Attorney General. Lord Sandwich, whose Wants made Office essential to him;—instead of presiding over the Admiralty, and directing that great Department of State, dwindled into Ranger of the two

Parks : but, as some Compensation for this official Degradation, his Son, Lord Hinchinbrook, a Nobleman deservedly acceptable to his Majesty, as well as one of the most honest, loyal, frank, and friendly Men in the Kingdom,—for I had the Honour to enjoy his Friendship ;—was made Master of the Buck Hounds. If he fell much below his Father, in Ability, Application, and Talents for public Business, he possessed greater private Virtues. Sir Grey Cooper, who had been one of the joint Secretaries of the Treasury, obtained a Seat at the Board. Not that Fox appeared by any Means oblivious of his Friends ; a Fault which never could be imputed to him. Burke went back with great Alacrity, to the Pay Office ; as did his Brother, Richard Burke, to the joint Secretaryship of the Treasury. Mr. Frederick Montagu resumed his Place at that Board : while the Earl of Surrey, whose recent Services and prominent Merit in Parliament, (where he never shrunk from any Exertion, however rough or personal,) could not be passed over without Remuneration, filled the remaining Vacancy. Considerably more than two Centuries had elapsed, since the gallant and distinguished Earl of that Name,

so well known under Henry the Eighth, the last who bore the Title, had occupied a Situation in the Councils of the Crown.

Colonel Fitzpatrick was made Secretary at War: and though his Talents always appeared to me, to be of a Description more elegant than solid; more adapted to entertain and delight, than fitted for the Desk, or for the Cabinet; yet I have been assured, even by those who were not partial to him among his own Profession, that he gave great, as well as general Satisfaction, while he held that Employment. His Person, tall, manly, and extremely distinguished; set off by his Manners, which, though lofty and assuming, were nevertheless elegant and prepossessing;—these Endowments added Grace to the Attractions of his Conversation. No Man's Society was more eagerly courted among the highest Orders, by Persons of both Sexes. He possessed no mean poetic Talents, peculiarly for Compositions of Wit, Fancy, and Satire, in all which he far exceeded Fox. The Marriage of his Sister with Stephen, Lord Holland, cemented their Intimacy. They had been brought up together from early Life, remained inseparable to the last, and were strongly attached

to each other. Fitzpatrick, like his Friend, was a constant Votary of Brookes's Club, and became during many Years, a Victim to Play; but he possessed one Advantage over Fox, namely the Support arising from a Profession. As a Member of the House of Commons, he obtained no Distinction for Eloquence; though he never betrayed, when addressing Parliament, any Want of Ideas, Language, or Ability. Under Charles the Second, he would have been more in his Element and in his Place, than under such a Prince as George the Third; of whose Court, he must nevertheless always be considered to have formed a Constellation and an Ornament. In the "*Mémoires de Grammont*" he would assuredly have filled a very distinguished Niche. I witnessed the Spectacle of his surviving many of the personal and intellectual Graces, which Nature had conferred on him with so lavish a Hand. During the last Months of his Life, weakened by the Progress of Diseases which enfeebled his Frame, though perhaps without impairing his Powers of Understanding; it might be in some Degree said of Fitzpatrick, as the King of Prussia observes of Prince Eugene in the Trenches before Philippsburgh

in 1734, "*Ce n'étoit plus que l'Ombre du grand Eugene.*"

Sheridan became the other Secretary of the Treasury, and Lee was replaced in his former Situation of Solicitor General. For the Lord Lieutenantcy of Ireland, the Earl of Northington was selected by Fox. His Person, unwieldy, vacillating, and destitute of Grace, seemed to disqualify him for any active Exertions of Body; nor were his Faculties brilliant: but I have always heard that he gave great Satisfaction, and was as much beloved, as his Infirmities permitted, during the Period of his short Residence in that Kingdom. The Embassy to Paris, Fox destined for the Duke of Manchester. His Figure, which was noble; his Manners, affable and corresponding with his high Rank, prepossessed in his Favor: but his Fortune bore no Proportion to his Dignity. Though a Man of very dissipated Habits, and unaccustomed to diplomatic Business, he did not want Talents. Such were the leading Arrangements made by the "Coalition," on their coming into Power. The Great Seal, which no Expostulations on the Part of the King, could induce them to leave in Thurlow's Hands, and which Wedderburn

wisely declined accepting under the Circumstances of the Time, was put into Commission; Lord Loughborough being placed at its Head. He constituted a valuable Acquisition to the new Ministry in the House of Peers.

Lord North, it must be reluctantly confessed, however Circumstances may justify his Union with Fox, on Principles of Policy, of personal Safety, or of Necessity; did not perform in this great Drama, the most dignified Part. After having occupied the Post of First Minister, at the Head of both the Treasury and the Exchequer, for twelve Sessions; it seemed to ordinary Observers, no little Degradation, at more than fifty Years of Age, to accept the Secretaryship of State for the Home Department; and to take his Seat as such, on the Treasury Bench where he had so long presided, now squeezed between Fox and Burke. I own, that I never contemplated him in that Situation, without Reflections allied to Pity. It is true that we have since seen, and still actually behold, an Ex-first Minister placed in the same Department, after having presided at the Helm during more than three Years. But, it would be invidious, and it is unnecessary, to draw

any Comparison between the two Individuals. Neither their Descent, the Period of their respective Administrations, nor even, according to my Estimate, their Abilities, can be considered as having any Similarity, and still less, any Parity. Mr. Addington was moreover removed from the immediate Scene of his Fall in 1804, and translated to the upper House of Parliament: while Lord North remaining a Commoner, with the Insignia of the *Garter* across his Breast, exhibited a Spectacle of ministerial Greatness in Eclipse, like Wolsey, or like Clarendon, or like Bolingbroke. Even the Compliments and the Caresses of his late bitter Opponents, now become his Co-adjutors, always appeared to me, only to sink him in the Estimation of the House. But he seemed, himself, to be wholly exempt from, or superior to, any painful Emotions at the political Change that he had undergone. The same cheerful Complacency, ready Wit, and unaffected good Humour, always characterized him under every Circumstance. Sometimes he even jested on his own Descent from the highest Situation, to a subordinate Place in Government. The Apartments constituting the Secretary of State's Office at the Treasury, being situate on the

second Floor, he experienced some Fatigue in ascending so many Steps ; and I recollect his once complaining, when out of Breath, of the Length of the Staircase. Frequently, from the Effect of long Habit, or from Absence of Mind, forgetting the Change in his official Situation, he went strait to the Treasury Chambers on the first Floor. Such was the oblivious Felicity and Equality of his Temper, that these Accidents, which would have distressed more irritable Men, never externally discomposed him. His eldest son, Colonel North, who had so actively exerted himself to effect the *Coalition*, was made one of the two Under Secretaries in his Father's Office.

[3d—15th of April.] It is unquestionable that there existed a Desire, if not a decided Intention, on the Part of the new Administration, about this Period, of calling up Lord North to the House of Peers. The Duke of Richmond, when speaking in the House, on the eighth Day of April, said, “ Rumours
“ prevailed, that the Assembly which he addressed, was speedily to receive an honorable Encrease, by the Introduction among
“ them, of the recently appointed Secretary

“ for the Home Department.” Far from denying, the Duke of Portland, then first Lord of the Treasury, avowed the Fact. “ As “ to the Question put,” answered he, “ it is “ true that the Secretary of State just named, “ is to be called up to a Seat among us: “ but, *when that Event may take Place, it is “ not in my Power to say, for Reasons which “ must be obvious to every Person who hears “ me.*” Allusion, and even Mention of the Circumstance, was repeatedly made by Members of the House of Commons, without receiving any Contradiction. Pitt questioned Lord North on the Subject, only about a Fortnight after this Time. Apprehensive of that Nobleman’s Opposition to his projected Motion for a Parliamentary Reform, Mr. Pitt observed, while speaking in his Place, that “ Report asserted, the noble Lord in “ the blue Ribband, only remained a Member of the lower House, for the Purpose of “ opposing his Proposition.” Lord North replied, “ that to spread such a Report of “ his remaining in that Assembly, for any “ particular Design or Object, was in itself “ very indecent.”—“ It becomes not me to “ assert,” added he, “ when, or whether I “ may ever be called up to the other House

“ and honored with a Seat in it. *Both the*
“ *Power and the Will reside in Others.* But,
“ whether my Stay here may be of longer,
“ or of shorter Duration, I will always
“ perform my Duty, and give my Opinion
“ freely upon every Subject that may come
“ before me.” He could not more clearly
admit the Truth of the Supposition, though
various Reasons or Impediments probably
prevented its Accomplishment. The King
having expressly informed the Ministers,
when they came into Office, that he would
not create any British Peer, at their Recom-
mendation, or Request; it was not likely
that he would violate his Resolution, in Or-
der to elevate Lord North to that Dignity;
against whom, as may be supposed, he felt
highly offended, or rather indignant, for his
Union with Fox. Lord North himself, how-
ever well he supported Appearances to the
World, yet probably would not have dislik-
ed, after the recent Events, to have quitted
a Scene such as the House of Commons,
where he made an inglorious Figure, and
where Recollections very humiliating must
continually intrude on his Mind. Fox, on
the other Hand, could not possibly be
averse to such a Removal, as he wanted no

Co-adjutor to aid him on the Treasury Bench ; while Lord North's Retreat would have left him sole Minister, as well as Manager, of the lower House of Parliament. But, for that very Reason, Lord North ought to have felt himself in some Measure compelled to remain a Commoner. His Party, already shaken and diminished, he well knew, would have soon crumbled away, when they no longer beheld, nor could have had daily Access to their Leader. Neither would he have attracted the same Consideration in the other House, as he excited in his actual Situation. Pressed between the Amity of Fox, and the Hostility of Pitt, with the Loss of America about his Neck, he saw himself obliged, after having so long performed the first Figure, to become only the third Personage in the State.

The public Business of every kind, which had been nearly eight Weeks delayed by the extraordinary Occurrences that we have contemplated, at length began in Parliament. For the third Time within the Space of about twelve Months, the Treasury Bench exhibited a complete Change. Many Per-

sons came down on the ninth of April, to witness the extraordinary Spectacle of Lord North and Fox taking their Places, Side by Side, as joint Secretaries of State:— a Metamorphosis, or more properly to speak, a Transition, to be ranked among the most wonderful which the Eighteenth Century displayed in political Life! The new Chancellor of the Exchequer opened his financial Administration, a few Days later, with a Loan; the Conditions, of which, if not as beneficial or advantageous to the Country, as might have been wished, were nevertheless, he said, as good as could be procured under the Circumstances of Urgency and Retardment, in which the culpable Obstinacy of the late Ministers had involved every Department. Mr. Pitt, who had now taken his Place on the Opposition Bench, and who from this Time, notwithstanding his Youth, was justly considered as the Head of that Party in the House of Commons; opposed and censured the Terms of Lord John Cavendish's Loan; but, without venturing to divide the House upon it, as the *Coalition*, he was aware, would have much outnumbered him. Governor Johnstone expressed himself likewise with great Severity, on the

Subject of the Bargain; qualifying nevertheless his Condemnation, with Compliments to Lord John's recognized Integrity and Purity of Intention. Fox admitted it to be a disadvantageous Loan for the Public; but, added, that he heard with some Astonishment, the Censures passed on it by Mr. Pitt, he being the principal Cause that the Terms were bad, by his Delay in quitting Office. "With Respect to a Competition," continued he, "which the Right Honorable Gentleman has recommended, as a preferable Mode, none such could be obtained on the present Occasion; the Bankers having connected themselves so strongly, and acted so much in *Concert*, that it became impossible to surmount the Impediments raised by them." Pitt, in Reply, treated the Reasons alleged by the Secretary of State, with Derision; adding, that "perhaps, a Term which had lately become celebrated, a *Coalition* of Bankers, might better express his Meaning, than the Word *Concert*." Nor did Pitt limit his Sarcasms to political Allusion:—for, Fox having, in Order to justify the Principle on which the twelve Millions had been borrowed, adverted to the Doctrine of Chances; Pitt replied,

that “ the Reasoning adopted, was only becoming a *Gambler* and a *Gamester*, who “ takes up Money desperately, without intending ever to repay the Principal.” The Secretary retorted with Asperity, vindicated himself from the Imputation thrown on him, and by very solid Arguments supported the Transaction. Lord North, who was present, took merely a subordinate Part in the Debate, leaving the Burthen to be supported by Fox. Pitt’s moral Superiority to his ministerial Antagonists, as resulting from Character, was strongly manifested throughout the whole Discussion.

[25th of April.] Lord John’s Loan having borne a Premium of eight per Cent. within a Week after its Negotiation, the Subject was again agitated in Parliament with augmented Violence, Fox still taking on himself the principal Defence of the Measure. As he persisted to render the late Ministers responsible for the Terms, on Account of the Hurry in which it was unavoidably concluded, Pitt called on him to desist from using such Language ; or, if he continued it, to come forward with a Charge against himself, and not to make it by Insi-

uation, but, in direct Words. Lord North vainly endeavoured to moderate these mutual Recriminations, and to infuse some good Humour into the Discussion. Pitt was not to be mollified by Wit, or conciliated by Advances. "The Secretary of State," said he, "not content with attempting to justify the Loan, accuses me of neglecting to borrow while I was Chancellor of the Exchequer, when the three per Cents were up at 70. Has he forgotten the Menaces which were thrown out against the late Administration, if they attempted to negotiate any Measure of Finance? Was not this House urged to watch us narrowly, in Order that no Loan might be set on Foot; not even the Mutiny Bill passed, so necessary for controlling the Army; nor any Act which could appear like the Operation of permanent Ministers, *because a Coalition had been just formed to seize upon the Government?*" Such an Expression was not of a Nature to be passed over by the Secretary, in Silence. "I insist," answered he, "that it is a rash and unjustifiable Assertion. The late Cabinet was driven from Office, as, I trust, every Cabinet will be, the Members

“ of which act wrong, by a Majority of this
“ House. By the same constitutional Means,
“ the Ministry of the noble Lord near me,
“ was removed ; a Measure in which the
“ Right Honorable Gentleman fully concur-
“ red.—Does he now mean to deny that the
“ House of Commons possesses any Right of
“ Interference in the Government of the Coun-
“ try? If he does, the indecent Expression
“ which he has just used, may be consistent
“ with such Principles. But, if he has not
“ forgotten or abandoned his original Ideas
“ and Opinions, I hope he will forbear from
“ applying such Appellations to the Line of
“ Conduct, which, twelve Months ago, he
“ himself approved.” Far, however, from
disavowing, or in any Degree retracting the
obnoxious Words, Pitt not only repeated
them; but, declared that he meant to use
them on all future Occasions, as being the
only appropriate Expressions, when allud-
ing to the Manner in which the *Coalition* had
obtained Possession of Power. “ I confess
at the same Time,” added he, “ that had
“ they ever been applied to the Conduct which
“ drove from Employment, the noble Lord
“ in the blue Ribband, I should have ex-
“ pressed my Indignation at it: but, I never

“ can consent to regard two Things so dissimilar, in the same Point of View.” If public Opinion, independent of Parliament, could have raised any Man to Office, Pitt would unquestionably have been elevated in April, 1783, to the Situation which he attained eight Months later, in December of the same Year. But, the *Coalition* for the present remained Masters of the Government, and compelled him to confine his Opposition to verbal Remonstrances. He knew his Party to be too weak for hazarding a Division, which could only have exposed the Paucity of his Numbers.

[7th May.] Nor did Pitt prove more successful in an Attempt which he soon afterwards renewed, to effect a Parliamentary Reform, than he had been in the former Session. He pronounced indeed, a most eloquent Address upon the Subject, and was supported in his Motion, by Fox. Two Proselytes likewise, Mr. Thomas Pitt, and Mr. Dundas, having read, each, their political Recantation, adopted his Principles for rendering the Representation more extended, as well as more pure and incorrupt. But, the House remained deaf to all these Argu-

ments, though illustrated by Examples ; the latter of which did not even appear to have obtained for those who exhibited them, the Praise either of Disinterestedness, or of Sincerity. Fox and Sheridan, while they sustained Pitt's Proposition, yet treated with Contempt and Derision, the pretended Sacrifice of the Borough of Old Sarum, which Mr. Thomas Pitt affected to offer up at the Shrine of the British Constitution, as a Victim to its renovated Purity. If we reflect on the close Degree of Consanguinity that existed between William and Thomas Pitt, who were Cousins-German ; a Relationship strengthened by personal Friendship:—and if we likewise recollect that Thomas represented the elder Branch of the Family ; we may perhaps incline to think that he relied on being speedily raised to the Peerage, for this Mark of Devotion, as effectively took Place scarcely eight Months afterwards. Dundas, who had a long and a keen political Sight, having already determined on attaching his future political Fortune to Pitt probably thought a speculative political Tenet to be undeserving of Contention. But, the Recantation pronounced by both, rather tended to throw a Ridicule on the Proposi-

tion, than to recommend it to the House. Lord North made ample amends for his passive Inactivity during the preceding Session, when a similar Discussion had taken Place. He spoke with uncommon Ability, Wit, and Force of Argument, against all representative Innovation. Powis, who rarely coincided with him on any Point, joined him on this Occasion.

It has always appeared to me, that Pitt's Proposition for a Parliamentary Reform in 1783, was liable to less Exception than his Motion of the preceding Year. The latter, which he made in May, 1782, opened wide the Door of Innovation, as it proposed "a Committee to be appointed, for enquiring into the State of the national Representation in Parliament;" whereas on the present Occasion, he named his specific Remedies for the alledged Evil. Among them, the principal Cure for Court Influence and Corruption, was "an Addition of Knights of the Shire, and of Representatives of the Metropolis." We must own, that as far as Theory may be trusted, of all the Experiments which could be tried on the British Constitution, this seems to promise the fairest

for Success, or in all Cases to be productive of the least Injury. It was compared perhaps with Propriety, to the Infusion of new Blood into the animal Body. Pitt left the deliberative Wisdom of Parliament to determine *how many* County Members should be added; but he gave it as his own Opinion, that they ought not to be under *one Hundred*. Powis, who spoke very early in the Debate, admitted, that among all the Measures devised for ameliorating the Composition of the lower House of Parliament, the present was open to least Objection; but he did not on that Account allow it to be proper for Adoption. With great Ability and Effect he called on the Clerks to produce, and to read over, as most essential when such a Subject was under Discussion; the Petitions for a more equal or extended Representation, from the populous Towns of Birmingham, Manchester, and Sheffield. After a careful Examination, the Clerks informed him, that not one of those three great manufacturing Places had sent any Petition to Parliament. “What! Not to be found in “the List!” exclaimed Powis. “How negligent! How oblivious of their Duty to “the State, and to themselves! Do they

“ then regard themselves as Outcasts from
“ the Constitution ! How can they so forget
“ to demand a Boon which would restore
“ them to Employment, to Trade, and to
“ Happiness ! ” The House felt the full Force
of this ingenious Sarcasm.

Mr. Thomas Pitt, though he exposed himself to much severe Comment, not unaccompanied with Ridicule, for his Tergiversation in supporting the present Motion, when in the preceding Session he had opposed a Proposition of a similar Nature ; yet alledged some very plausible Reasons for his Versatility. He was indeed a very plausible Speaker, and had a seductive Species of Eloquence which characterized him. Nor did he, though he coincided with his Relation and Friend, by any means disgrace himself in the Manner of doing it. On the contrary, while he surrendered to the *Principle*, he opposed and resisted the *Application*. To the *Augmentation* of the County Members he assented ; but, not to the *Number*, below which the Mover had declared they ought not to fall. Mr. Thomas Pitt protested against the Introduction of so large a Body of new Men, who would far exceed, he said, the Limits

dictated by Prudence and Caution. “ If
“ no other Person will do it,” added he, “ I
“ will offer an Amendment; by inserting the
“ Words, *an Augmentation of one Member to*
“ *each County in England and Wales*; and
“ I am determined to take the Sense of the
“ House upon it.” There was nothing servile
or dependant in this Conduct. Having ex-
pressed in Language of Energy and Anima-
tion, his Respect for a well balanced, limited,
and mitigated Monarchy, such as ours ought
ever to be; he drew with the Pencil of a
Master, the two extreme Cases; one, of a
Minister who should throw all Power into
the Scale of the Crown; contrasted with the
other, who avowed his Intention of making
the Balance preponderate in Favour of the
People. It was not possible to mistake, that
by the former Portrait, he meant to desig-
nate Lord North; by the latter, Fox. Both
were highly coloured, yet not destitute of
Truth. When he had depicted the Cala-
mities resulting from a bad Administration,
supporting itself by Corruption, in Defiance
of public Opinion, of the independent Part
of Parliament, and of the Nation; which
Government he denominated “ the more ab-
solute, as wearing the Mask of Liberty;”

he held up to View, the opposite Extremè. “ If,” observed he, “ on the other Hand, in a “ Constitution poised like our own, *the Force* “ *of Cabal and Faction could at any Time* “ *seize on the executive Authority, equally a-* “ *gainst the Sense of the Sovereign, and of the* “ *People ;—if the titular Monarch should be* “ *so disarmed and pinioned, as to be allowed* “ *no Choice in the Nomination of his Minis-* “ *ters ; no Opinion as to the Measures pur-* “ *sued ; no free Will as to granting or with-* “ *holding the Favours and Graces of the* “ *Crown ;—in a Word, if nothing should re-* “ *main to the Monarch, except the mortify-* “ *ing Pre-eminence of sustaining daily Insults* “ *on the Throne ;—I should not hesitate to de-* “ *nominate such a Government, a Republic ;* “ *and a Republic of the worst Description.*”

Neither of the two Secretaries of State could pass over without Notice, Allusions at once so severe and so personal. Lord North contrived, with uncommon Felicity of Argument and Expression, to blend his own Defence, with the Opposition which he made to the Motion. Rarely have I witnessed, even from *Him*, a Display of greater Talent, Pleasantry, and sound Reasoning. Borrowing Part

of his Artillery from Shakspeare, he played, in a Manner peculiarly entertaining, upon the *Hundred Knights* proposed by Pitt, to be added to the County Members. “*I say, however, as I trust the Majority will say, this Night,*” continued he, “*No! not fifty. What! not fifty! No! not one.*”—“*The American War is held up to our View, as if it had been the War of the Crown, in Contradiction to the Wishes of the People. I deny the Fact. It was the War of Parliament, sanctioned throughout its whole Progress, by both Houses. It was more. It was the War of the People, undertaken for the Purpose of maintaining their Rights over the Dependencies of the Empire. It was, in its Commencement, a popular War. Could the pretended Influence of the Crown have not only procured Majorities approaching nearly to Unanimity, within these Walls; but, almost unanimous Approbation without Doors?—True it is, that ill Success rendering it at length unpopular, the People began to cry out for Peace. Had the Constitution been so corrupt, or so disordered, as these Reformers assert; how comes it that the Voice of the People and of this House, has so*

“recently prevailed against the Power and
“Influence of the Crown?”

After having demonstrated that the Petitions from various Counties of the Kingdom, laid upon the Table, had been surreptitiously obtained, or were signed only by a Minority of the Inhabitants and Freeholders; he entreated the Indulgence of the House, while he said a few Words personal to himself. Never did I witness a more enthusiastic or more universal Encouragement than he received, to induce him to proceed! “Well, Sir,” said he, addressing the Chair, “the Fact to
“which I allude, is the Accusation respect-
“ing bad Ministers being continued in
“Office, by the over-ruling Influence of the
“Crown, against the Wishes of the People.
“This is not a random Stroke. Its Direction
“may be discovered, by the Quarter from
“which it comes; and I will not affect to
“think that it can be levelled against any
“other Person than myself. But, the At-
“tack is altogether unjust. I was not a
“Minister of Chance, picked up by the So-
“vereign, and unknown to Parliament. It
“was here I first became known. In my
“Rise I was the Creature of Parliament.

“ When I fell, I was its Victim. You raised
“ me up. You pulled me down. Does my
“ Administration shew the undue Influence
“ of the Crown? No! Sir, the History of
“ my political Life forms a Proof, which
“ will overturn a thousand wild Assertions,
“ that there is a corrupt Influence in the
“ Crown, which destroys the Independence
“ of this Assembly. Where then is the Ne-
“ cessity for this paraded Reformation?”—
“ The Addition of a hundred, or even of
“ fifty County Members, would give to the
“ landed Interest, a decided Superiority over
“ the monied and the commercial. But, let
“ us not begin to invade the Fabrick of the
“ British Constitution, which preserves the
“ due Equipoize between the several great
“ Interests of the Empire! *Principiis obsta.*
“ Let us act as the Representatives, not as
“ the Deputies, of the People. We are not
“ to refer to *Them*, before we determine.
“ We are to use our own Discretion, seeking
“ no other Guidance. In a Word, let us
“ reject those specious, but, dangerous Mea-
“ sures, which, if once adopted, will inevit-
“ ably lead to Subversion!” We are at a
Loss whether most to admire the Principles,
the Eloquence, or the Reasoning of this ad-

mirable Address, which would of itself suffice to place Lord North in the first Rank of wise, enlightened, and patriotic Statesmen.

Fox displayed on that Night, his usual Ability; but he found himself painfully situated; hampered by his Declarations when out of Office; compelled to vote against his Colleague, and to support Pitt, whom he apprehended as his most formidable Adversary. He took however a sort of Revenge, by holding up Mr. Thomas Pitt to Ridicule. Probably, if he could have relied on continuing in Office, he would have been inclined to imitate the two Examples set him by Thomas Pitt and by Dundas. And as they had abandoned in some Degree their preceding Opinions and Declarations, in Order to cement their Connexion with the Mover of the Proposition; so the new Secretary might have manifested some Symptoms of a more favourable Disposition towards the Crown, and less Ardor for popular Rights, than he had hitherto exhibited in Parliament. But, Fox well knew on what loose Foundations his Power reposed. He felt the strong Alienation by which the King

was animated towards him and his Associates in Office; and he therefore did not venture on any Step, which might compromise him with his Westminster Constituents, or expose him to the Imputation of Inconsistency and Apostacy. Throughout the whole Period of Fox's Ministerial Career, while a Member of the *Coalition*, he seems never to have forgotten that he held his Situation, not by the Choice of the Sovereign, but, in Contradiction to his Will. He was in Fact a Tribune, arrayed in Consular Robes, who always beheld before him the Palace Yard Convocations, and considered himself as a Representative of the People, rather than a Minister of George the Third. Pitt, on the contrary, even while seated on the Opposition Bench, appeared to anticipate his speedy Return to Power as certain, and only to wait for the Occasion presenting itself, to resume his former Functions.

Two Individuals of great Eminence in Parliament, were prevented on that Occasion, though by very different Causes, from delivering their Opinions, on Pitt's proposed Measure of Reform. The first, Sir George

Saville, who rose when Mr. Thomas Pitt sate down, and who always strongly supported every Proposition for restraining the Power of the Crown; was compelled by severe Indisposition to stop short, after pronouncing only a few Sentences. The Disorders under which he laboured, and which had already impaired his bodily Strength, though not the Activity of his Mind, conducted him soon afterwards to the Grave. Burke, whose powerful Abilities would have been thrown into the opposite Scale;—for, he was always an Enemy to Experiments on the Representation, or on the Constitution;—stood up when Fox concluded, with the Intention of replying to the Arguments of the Secretary his Friend. But, the Disinclination evinced to hear him, and the Noise made by those Members who dreaded the Prolixity of his Speeches, was so great, as at once to irritate and disgust a Man, who, with all his splendid Talents, never learned or practised the Secret of knowing how and when to address the House. With strong Marks of Indignation in his Countenance and Gestures, he resumed his Seat. With perfect Truth did Goldsmith assert of Burke, when preparing to open his exhaust-

less Stores of Knowledge, to Men fatigued, or averse to receive his Information, that

“ He thought of convincing, when they thought of dining:”

while Sheridan possessed so nice a Tact, and knew so well how to contract his Matter, when he perceived an Impatience or a Disinclination to listen, that he never experienced the mortifying Rejection which Burke provoked.

Rigby made a conspicuous Figure towards the Close of this memorable Debate. Unlike Dundas, who had laid at the Feet of Pitt, his former Opinions; Rigby maintained them in all their Force. Nor did he fail to express the utmost Astonishment at the Change which had taken Place in the Sentiments of his Friend the learned Lord, on the Subject under Discussion. The Friendship to which he alluded, had however suffered some Injury since Lord North's Resignation, during more than a Year, in Consequence of the rapid Succession of ministerial Changes, and political Events; and they no longer acted, as formerly, in Con-

cert. Dundas kept his Eye only upon Pitt. Rigby, pressed to pay into the Exchequer, his vast Balances of public Money, was compelled to adapt his Conduct to Circumstances. Their Union might indeed be already considered as at an End. The Ex-Paymaster finally joined the *Coalition*: while the Lord Advocate remained unalterably attached to the rising Star of Chatham; by the Influence of which, added to his own distinguished Abilities, he not only attained, and long occupied, some of the highest Employments; but, ultimately closed his Career in the upper House of Parliament. On the present Occasion, Rigby expressed himself with his blunt, habitual, contemptuous Frankness of Language and of Manner. Having treated the Petitions for a more equal Representation, as undeserving serious Notice, and alluding to the proposed Addition of *County* Members. “I do not allow,” exclaimed he, “that they are more respectable than the *Burgesses*. I am, myself, a Burgess, and so is the Mover of this Question. Never will I consent to any Innovation or Augmentation in the actual Numbers of the Commons. Nay, I would prefer beholding another Member added to the Bo-

“rough of Old Sarum, which consists only
“of a single Teneiment, rather than allow
“another Member to the City of London,
“which is already sufficiently represented
“in this Assembly.”——“The Spirit of In-
“novation has been carried too far, while
“the Influence of the Crown is too much
“curtailed. Will Ministers assert,” conti-
nued he, looking across the House at Fox,
“that they do not feel it; and feel it as an
“Impediment to Government, in carrying
“on the most necessary Measures of Admi-
“nistration?”—The Secretary of State sig-
nifying by his Gestures, that he did not
agree to the Assertion, “I well know,” said
Rigby, without being disconcerted, “that
“here, in this House, I shall receive no
“other Reply. It won’t do for Gentlemen
“who have been most clamorous in Oppo-
“sition, and who have for many Sessions
“declaimed against the Influence of the
“Crown; to admit in the Face of those
“whom they have misled, that they now,
“when seated on the Treasury Bench, smart
“under the Inconvenience which they have
“themselves produced. But, I am sure,
“they feel it, and the Public feel it not
“less.”——“I am as great an Enemy to a

“ dangerous Extension of the royal Influence, as any Man within these Walls: but, “ it forms as necessary an Ingredient in the “ Constitution, as the Power of the Commons. And I hope, the Time is not remote, when that Influence, so decried of late, will be restored to its former necessary and beneficial Extent.” We cannot wonder that such Opinions and Principles, however odious they might be to the Multitude convened in Palace Yard, should have formed powerful Recommendations at St. James’s. Mr. Pitt’s Resolutions were finally negatived by a far greater Majority than in the preceding Year; out of near four hundred and fifty Members who voted, only one hundred and forty-nine having divided with him.

[May.] No Man in Office made a more conspicuous Figure, or attracted more Attention, during the Session under Consideration, than Burke: but, it was not by any Means such as his Friends and Admirers could contemplate either with Pride, with Pleasure, or even with Approbation. It excited indeed great Regret, that a Person endowed with Parts so eminent, and appa-

rently animated by Philanthropy so extended, should nevertheless allow himself at Times to be led into the most unjustifiable Deviations from ordinary Prudence and Propriety of Conduct. In the present Instance he involved his Party, as well as himself, in equal Embarrassment, by his intemperate Precipitation. Two Individuals, Powell and Bembridge, the one Cashier, the other Accountant, of the Military Pay Office, having been accused of Malversation in the Discharge of their Functions, had been dismissed by Colonel Barré from their Offices, while he was Paymaster of the Forces, under Lord Shelburne's Administration. On Burke coming again into that Employment, one of his first Acts, without previously consulting Fox upon the Subject, was to reinstate both those Persons in their respective Situations. Such a Proceeding relative to Functionaries laboring under heavy Charges, and about to become Subjects of criminal Prosecution in the Court of King's Bench, naturally formed an Object of Discussion in the House of Commons, where it excited very pointed Animadversion. Burke, petulant and irritable, defended with Warmth the Step that he had taken,

though a Measure in itself evidently contrary to the Judgment of all Parties. Fox, while he tacitly lamented and disapproved the Act, yet, as he never abandoned his Friends in Distress, endeavoured to justify its Author. The Interference was, nevertheless, peculiarly painful and delicate on his Part; Powell, who had risen under his Father, the late Lord Holland, being supposed to have connived at some of the Appropriations of public Money, which were attributed, perhaps very unjustly, by popular Prejudice, to that Nobleman, while Paymaster of the Forces. It was for the corrupt Concealment of a Sum exceeding forty-eight thousand Pounds in the Accounts of Lord Holland, that Powell and Bembridge were now about to undergo a Trial. No Circumstance therefore could have been less agreeable to Fox, while standing in the conspicuous Situation of Secretary of State, than to be thus compelled by Burke's Imprudence in restoring them to their Places, to come forward as the Advocate and Apologist of such a Transaction.

On the first Agitation of the Business, Pitt having observed, that the Restoration

of two Men accused of Malversation, appeared to reflect in no ordinary Degree, on the Authors of their Dismission; as well as on the late Attorney-General, (Kenyon,) who had given his decided Opinion against both the Individuals; Sheridan rose, in Order to justify the Transaction, as far as it involved Ministers in any Culpability. His Vindication seeming to bear hard upon Kenyon, as if he had neglected his official Duty in not commencing and following up a Prosecution against them; He, who possessed a more than common Portion of Irritability, instantly came forward. In Terms the most explicit he protested, that as soon as the Case of Powell and Bembridge was laid before him, he had delivered his Opinion, that they ought to become Objects equally of a civil and a criminal Pursuit. "In so strong a Point of View," added he, "did I see their Conduct, as to leave me no Hesitation in declaring to the Persons who were then in Power, that such enormous Offenders ought not to be suffered to remain in Places of Trust." Under this heavy Charge, made from so high a Quarter, Burke did not at first display any unbecoming Warmth. On the contrary, he rather

endeavoured to extenuate, to explain, and to palliate, than either wholly to deny, or to vindicate, the Acts committed in his Office. But, Martin, who had always expressed a decided Condemnation of the *Coalition*, which political Junction he embraced every Opportunity of reprobating; having observed that he regarded the Restoration of the Cashier and Accountant of the Military Pay Office, *as a gross and daring Insult to the Public*; Burke lost all Controul over his Temper. In a Manner the most furious, starting up from the Treasury Bench on which he was seated, he unquestionably would have given way to his Rage, in Words the most unbecoming, if more than one of his Friends near him, had not forcibly pulled him down in his Place, and held him there. Sir Edward Astley having nevertheless repeated Martin's Assertion; adding, that "to replace two Individuals accused of a Crime amounting to public Robbery, implied a Contempt of public Opinion, and was a daring Insult;" Fox found it high Time to interfere. His Speech, while it implied his Regret at the injudicious Conduct of the Paymaster, and his Disapprobation of the whole Transaction, yet made the

most temperate, able, and effectual Appeal to the Candour and Liberality of the House. After declaring that he never had heard of the Restoration of the two Persons in Question, till Burke himself had communicated to him the Fact, at St. James's, just as he was entering the King's Closet; he readily admitted the indispensable Necessity for an Enquiry taking Place. "But," added he, "Mr. Burke thinking that Punishment "ought not to precede Enquiry, has re-
"stored them to their Situations; deter-
"mined, no doubt, on suiting his future
"Conduct to the eventual Issue." With great Address Fox threw a Veil over the Infirmary of his Friend; and being assisted by the Speaker, who declared the whole Conversation to be disorderly, as there was not any Question before the House, the Business was stopped. This Discussion took Place on the second of May.

[19th—21st May.] A Transaction of so extraordinary a Nature, which involved in it, either the Paymaster who had suspended, or the Paymaster who had restored, the two accused Individuals; though it might be arrested for a short Time, yet could not how-

ever be wholly suppressed by ministerial Power and Interference. The Belief and even Conviction of Powell and Bembridge's Guilt, becoming universal, the Subject was soon renewed in the House of Commons. Lord Newhaven, one of the two Members for Gatton in Surrey, a Borough of which he was then the Proprietor; and who had been raised from the Rank of a Baronet, to the Dignity of an Irish Peer, by Lord North, during the Course of his Administration; became the involuntary Instrument of reviving the Discussion. For, he having made a Motion on the 24th of April, to lay on the Table, the Treasury Minute respecting the Suspension of Powell and Bembridge, with a View to commence an Enquiry into the Affair; now moved to discharge the Order. He assigned as a Reason for this seeming Inconsistence, that a Prosecution having been commenced in the Courts below, it would be unbecoming to continue the Enquiry within those Walls. But, his Proposition was strongly opposed from various Quarters. Sir Cecil Wray, who, though he possessed no superior Talents, was independent in Mind, as well as in Fortune; expressed his Astonishment that the Paymas-

ter General should reinstate two Persons, suspected of so great a Crime as the Embezzlement of public Money. The Reasons assigned by Burke for his Conduct, namely, "that he believed them innocent; and that "he was responsible, not to the House, but, "to the Public," appeared to him, (Sir Cecil Wray,) by no Means satisfactory.

Mr. Powis, as well as other Members, sustaining the Arguments, Burke was necessitated to enter on his Defence, which he did with Temper, if not with Judgment. It would, indeed, have been most imprudent, as well as dangerous, to have allowed his Anger to predominate over his Reason, after plunging himself into so complicated an Embarrassment. He excused the Violence which he had displayed during the former Debate, by alledging the Respect that he felt for the House, and his extreme Sensibility to any Marks of their Displeasure. But, he in the same Breath desired it to be understood, that nothing could be more remote from his present Intention, than to offer any Excuse for his Conduct relative to the two unfortunate Gentlemen in Question. "On that "Point," added he, "I feel such a Sunshine

“ of Content within, that if the Act were
“ undone, I am convinced I should repeat it.
“ My invariable Maxim and Rule of Con-
“ duct, is to compassionate and to protect
“ the unfortunate, while I do not find them
“ to be criminal. The Individuals under
“ Discussion, have been committed to my
“ Protection by Providence, and I have only
“ performed my Duty, by replacing them in
“ their Situations.—I nevertheless disclaim
“ every Idea of having either acted in Con-
“ cert with His Majesty’s Ministers, or of
“ even having asked their Advice. Nay
“ more, I protest that I have retained these
“ Persons in Office, contrary to their own
“ Prayers and Entreaties.—As to my own
“ Share in this Affair, I care not how deeply
“ it is probed. My Mind, filled with con-
“ scious Rectitude of Intention, was never
“ more tranquil than on the present Occa-
“ sion.”

A Defence, if such it can properly be de-
nominated, which seemed to set all com-
mon Rules of human Action at Defiance,
and might justly be thought to impeach the
Sanity of Burke’s Mind, did not tend
to conciliate his Audience, or to stop all

further Enquiry. Pitt, Dundas, Kenyon, Mr. Thomas Pitt, Pepper Arden, Colonel Barré, and many others, persisted to demand that the Treasury Minutes should be laid on the Table. Ministers, on the other Hand, though they admitted the Imprudence of the Paymaster, and lamented it; yet resisted any Disclosure whatever, under the Pretence that it might prejudice the accused Parties, if made previous to the criminal Proceedings about to take Place in the Courts of Judicature. Fox exerted all the Powers of Reasoning, and Sheridan exhausted his Ingenuity, in Endeavours to protect their Friend. General Conway, while he avowed that Burke's Conduct did not meet his Approbation, yet refused to consent to the Production of the Minutes. Nor did Lord North decline to perform on that Evening, the Service of a faithful Ally to his new Colleagues. He not only voted, but, spoke in the Course of the Debate, with great apparent Animation. To him, indeed, and to his Adherents, more than to the Rockingham Party, was to be attributed the slender Majority by which Ministers ultimately prevailed. Even that Triumph, if it could deserve the Name, was not ob-

tained, till Lee, the Solicitor General, had solemnly pledged himself to the House, that the Prosecution against Powell and Bembridge, should be seriously conducted. As the best Proof of his Sincerity, he called on the late Attorney and Solicitor General, to aid him in the Proceeding. Under these Circumstances, after a Debate of great Acrimony, and of considerable Length, a Division took Place. Near three hundred Members were present; of which Number, one hundred and thirty-seven voted for producing the Treasury Minutes. One hundred and sixty-one supported Government; thus carrying the Question only by twenty-four. But, the real Victory remained with Opposition;—the Victory of public Opinion: for, probably, among those Persons who supported Administration, scarcely ten Individuals approved the Cause in which they engaged.

Mr. Rolle, then Member for the County of Devon, who has been since raised to the Peerage; justly considering Burke's Conduct as not only wrong in itself, but insulting to the Country at large; brought the Consideration of it a third Time, before the

House. Having demanded of the Paymaster, whether he still retained his Determination to keep Powell and Bembridge in their Employments, Burke rose, and pronounced a Speech of near two Hours. He was indeed several Times interrupted, and called to Order; the Irritation of his Temper carrying him into Digressions altogether irrelevant to the Subject under Discussion. Great Eccentricity, if not Aberration of Mind, characterized many Passages of his Defence; which implied a distempered Imagination, under the Influence of strong Feeling, but, destitute of the Controul of sober Reason. He compared himself to an Indian Savage, roasted by one of his Countrymen, and served up as a Dish, or as an *Entre-met*. After calling on God to witness, that in all the Proceedings relative to the two accused Persons, he had been actuated solely by Motives of Justice and of Conscience; He nevertheless added, that as so large and respectable a Body of Members had appeared to censure his Conduct, he would give Way. His Bill for reforming the royal Household, he said, constituted his irremissible Crime, and had procured him numerous Enemies. To that Cause he appeared to attribute the present Attack upon his

Conduct, as well as the successive Interruptions that he underwent. Of Powell and Bembridge he spoke, not only as Men of uncommon official Merit, but, of religious Integrity. Then diverging to other Points apparently unconnected with the Topic before the House, he lamented Lord Rockingham's Decease; put himself upon God and his Country; claimed the Merit of his Reforms; and added, that he had still great Matters of a similar Description to propose to Parliament, if they did not fetter him in the Mode of carrying them into Execution. Mingling some of the finest Passages of Virgil and of Shakspeare, with his own Justification, He impressed his Audience with mingled Pity and Admiration. Having concluded, he started up again, merely to state that Powell had already resigned, at his own Request, and that Bembridge had made a similar Offer; but he trusted the House would not insist on its being carried into Execution.

Mr. Rolle continuing nevertheless to be of Opinion that the latter ought equally to be suspended, Fox interposed; and though he deprecated the Measure taking Place previous to a Trial in Westminster Hall, yet, he subjoined, that as so respect-

able a Minority thought otherwise, he wished his Friend to accept Bembridge's Resignation. Rigby tried however one more Effort in his behalf, but, without Effect. The Ex-Paymaster making on this Occasion, common Cause with his present Successor; after bearing ample Testimony to the high Merits of the two Culprits during thirteen Years that he had held the Office; endeavoured to shew that no possible Injury would accrue to the Public, from suffering Bembridge to exercise the Functions of Accountant. His Eloquence proved equally unavailing with Burke's pathetic and querulous Invocations. The House remained inexorable; and Fox did not dare to hazard the Experiment of a second Division, by which, whatever might be the Result, Government would only augment the Obloquy already incurred. Burke therefore appeared sullenly to acquiesce; declaring at the same Time, that he would not be responsible for the Consequences which might accrue from the Resignation of Bembridge. So doubtful however did his Submission seem, and so strong was his Repugnance to obey the Orders of Parliament, that Rolle repeated his Enquiries on the Subject, a few Days

afterwards; during which short Interval of Time, Powell fell a Victim to his Reflections. This disastrous Circumstance augmenting the Irritation of Burke's Mind, he refused to answer the Question put to him; and the whole Business would have been agitated anew, if Rigby had not risen to satisfy the Demand, by declaring that Bembridge was actually suspended.

The House of Commons, however strong a Disposition they shewed on every Occasion, to approve and to sanction the general Measures of Administration; manifested nevertheless strong Disapprobation of Burke's Conduct in this Instance. Powell, overcome either by the Weight of his own Distress, or by his Inability to sustain the public Opinion of his Culpability; after losing in a great Measure the Use of his Faculties, put an End to his Existence with a Razor. Bembridge, endowed with a firmer Mind, or with stronger Nerves, was reserved for the Infamy of a public Trial and Condemnation, before Lord Mansfield. The Prosecution, which took place some Months afterwards; reluctantly, but, ably and fairly conducted by Lee, the Solicitor General, terminated in

the complete Exposure of the Fraud imputed to Bembridge, for which the Court sentenced him to a severe Fine and Imprisonment. Every Exertion which the Purity of our Jurisprudence will allow, was made to soften, or to avert, the Severity of the Stroke. Burke, who did not hesitate to appear in Court, seated upon the Bench, during the Proceedings, gave the strongest Attestations to Bembridge's Character for Integrity. He was accompanied there by Lord North, who likewise condescended to join in a similar Testimony to the good Conduct and Probity of the accused, during the Time that he had, himself, formerly held the Post of joint Paymaster of the Forces. But, these Efforts, which proved unavailing, only attracted Censure towards the Persons who thus attempted to screen from Punishment, a conspicuous Delinquent: while the Proofs exhibited of his Guilt, impressed the public Mind with Opinions highly unfavourable, not merely to Burke himself, at least in a prudential Point of View; but, to the Ministry in which he filled so distinguished a Place.

[3d June.] Scarcely had this Affair termi-

nated, when Burke plunged himself into a second Embarrassment, hardly less painful to his Friends. A Bill for the Regulation of the Pay Office, having been brought into the House of Commons by himself, which gave rise to much Discussion and Difference of Opinion, in its Passage through the Committee; the contending Parties agreed to fill up the Blanks amicably, after the House rose, round the Speaker's Chair. Burke being Paymaster General, of Course took an active Part, as did many other Members; and the Clauses were understood to have been settled in the way specified, by mutual Consent. But, Mr Estwick, Member for Westbury, on a Motion for the third Reading of the Bill, to the Astonishment of the House, rising up in his Place, preferred a formal Charge against Burke; accusing him of having gone into the Engrossing Room, after the Bill in Question had been carried there; of expunging three Clauses, and altering a fourth, all which he re-modelled to his own Taste. Such an Act, if it had been proved, might have led to very grave Consequences; and must in any Case have attracted public Censure, or produced a Reprimand from the Chair. Fox immediately came forward

with his characteristic Manliness of Mind, to the Aid of his Friend, whose Conduct was severely arraigned by Pitt. The House admitted the Secretary's Justification as satisfactory, and did not inflict any Mark of its Disapprobation on Burke; though the Excuses offered, or Reasons alledged, for his Conduct, were by no Means such as completely exculpated him in the Opinions of impartial Men. It appeared however, by the Testimony of Cornwall the Speaker, that Burke had not, as he was accused of doing, either expunged or altered any Clause in the engrossing Office. The Speaker at least asserted, and the House lent Credit to his Assurance, that the Misconception had arisen from the Circumstance of his having put the Question on the four Clauses, under an Impression that the Parties were agreed, in so low a Tone of Voice, that they all passed without Notice. Pitt contended, that even though this extraordinary Fact were true, yet the expunged Clauses must be restored, and debated anew by the House. As the Proposition could not be refused, they were therefore brought up, and finally negatived on a Division, though only by a Majority of twenty-eight Votes. The Speaker's Testi-

mony, whether accurate, or not, extricated Burke; and Fox manifested the generous Ardor of his Mind throughout the whole Transaction;—an Ardor which always impelled him to cover the Errors of those, with whom he was connected in Politics or Friendship. But, he did not the less in private condemn Burke's Imprudence; and he was said to have warned the Paymaster of the Forces, as he valued his Office, not to involve his Friends, and the Administration of which he composed so conspicuous a Member, in a third similar Dilemma, during the remainder of the Session.

In the Course of the Debate which arose respecting the expunged Clauses, some Expressions of great Asperity were used and retorted by the Heads of Party on opposite Sides of the House. Pitt, throughout the whole Period of Time that the *Coalition* remained in Possession of the Government, always affected to consider Ministers, as having availed themselves of the Forms of the Constitution, in Order to violate its Essence, and to hold the King in Bondage. While dilating on the Act attributed to Burke, he did not hesitate to warn them

“ how they ventured to make a bad Use of
“ their *ill-gotten Power*.” Lord North immediately rose, and repeating the Words with a Note of Admiration, observed, that
“ if *Power* acquired in Consequence of a
“ Vote of that Assembly, condemning the
“ late Administration for having concluded
“ a bad Peace, could be denominated *ill-gotten*, undoubtedly the Language just used
“ was correct. But, if such *Power* had
“ been *constitutionally* obtained, as he maintained to be the Case, then he could not
“ sufficiently express his Surprize at the Expression.” “ As to the *Use*,” continued he, “ which we shall make of our Power, I
“ trust, it will not discredit us. We have
“ two principal Objects to pursue. The
“ first is, to do many Things which our Predecessors promised to accomplish, but,
“ which they have left undone. The other
“ is, to prevent the Mischiefs resulting from
“ what they have done.” The Ability, as well as the Wit of this Reply, did not silence the Opposition. Mr. Hill, in particular, remarked on the political Phænomenon which the Treasury Bench exhibited, where two Individuals, who, a Year ago, would not trust themselves together in the same

Room, were now beheld cordially embracing each other. "The House will suppose," continued he, "that I mean, the Secretary for the Whig Department, and the Secretary for the Tory Department. Such, I will not deny, is my Meaning; and I beg to assure the loving Couple, that if they continue united for a Twelve-month, they shall have my hearty Vote for *the Flitch of Bacon*. *Necessity* is the grand Argument used on all Occasions, to justify the present *Coalition*. I believe, much Truth is couched under that single Word."

Unquestionably, public Opinion was adverse to the Ministers; and as they well knew how odious they were at St. James's, it behoved them to act with the greatest Circumspection. Pitt did not allow a single Act of their Administration to pass unexamined; and he possessed a great Superiority over two Men, who, however resplendent might be their Ability, and however numerous their Followers, yet were universally considered as having made mutual Sacrifices of Principle, to the Gratification of their Ambition. It is true that the Cabinet had been taken by Storm in March, 1782, as well

as in March, 1783: but, the same Fact gave Rise to very opposite Sensations throughout the Country. The respective Adherents of Lord Rockingham and of the Earl of Shelburne, though they broke out into the most inveterate Hostility, as soon as they became Masters of the Government; yet were impelled by one common leading Object, that of terminating the Contest with America:—an Object, to which, under the Circumstances of the Time, the great Majority of the Nation fervently wished Success. Lord North and Fox derived no Support from popular favour. Their Possession of Power stood solely on two Votes of the House of Commons. Nor could they claim any Merit for having expelled a Ministry, which by ill Success, Disgraces, and Losses of Territory, was become unpopular or contemptible. Scarcely did the *Coalition* venture to condemn the Peace, for having concluded which, Lord Shelburne was driven out of Office. Indeed, it has always appeared doubtful to me, whether the same Majority which censured the Treaties, would have voted for the Removal of the First Minister who signed them. Lord North manifested much more Firmness or Pertinacity, than was displayed by the Earl of Shelburne. It may per-

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